

MEMOIRS

OF

THE COURT OF PORTUGAL,

AND

Of the ADMINISTRATION of the

COUNT D'OEYRAS.

Taken from a Series of Original Letters.

WRITTEN IN FRENCH.

L O N D O N:

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P R E F A C E,

By the E D I T O R.

I WAS entertained some months ago, on a foreign tour, with the perusal of a series of letters, which contained several anecdotes concerning the affairs of Portugal ; these letters containing, likewise, matters of a private nature, the owner did not choose they should be printed. That the public therefore might not be deprived of the knowledge of what in such case would probably have never come to their notice, I prevailed on the owner to permit me to take an extract of them, in doing which a relation of the family who had resided in Portugal was of no small assistance to me.

There is one thing necessary to be remarked by every reader before he enters upon the following memoirs, which is, that by the long residence of the Moors formerly in Portugal, and afterwards of the Portuguese in India, the latter have acquired a strong taint of the African and Asiatick manner of thinking and acting, customs which still prevail, and appear in all their actions: Unless these circumstances

circumstances therefore be remembered, it will be difficult to account for the singularity of numberless adventures herein mentioned, as probably no person of any other nation in Europe would have acted in the like manner on the same occasions.

T H E

MEMOIRS OF THE COURT OF PORTUGAL.

THE various calamities with which the little state of Portugal has for some years past been afflicted, are sufficient to fill our minds with equal terror and astonishment. We have seen every species of political and natural evils united in its destruction. Earthquakes, assassinations, imprisonments, executions and murders, have without interruption filled the horrid scene, and prepared us to expect some more dreadful succeeding catastrophe. To know the causes of such a succession of disasters, might be matter of useful enquiry and example. But such are the interior regulations of government in that country, and so little is its intercourse, with other nations, except in the common course of commerce, that the public has remained hitherto as much in the dark concerning the cause of the political as of the natural evils which have shaken this state.

These extraordinary events have had in common this further particularity, that they may be said to have happened at a time, when, according to human appearance, they were all least to be expected, as the season was most remarkably serene and temperate when the earthquake happened, and the government

of the kingdom was become more stable, consequently bore the appearance of greater tranquillity than had been known for many years; when of a sudden it was involved in such affliction and distress as it will probably never recover. But although the causes of these extraordinary commotions which disturbed that part of the earth, may be far beyond the reach of human sagacity, the origin of the political distresses of that kingdom, is by no means impenetrable to persons who have been witnesses to those events, and who have been able to obtain a true and exact account of the occurrences which preceded them. It shall therefore be the business of the following sheets, not only to give an account of the state of affairs at present in Portugal under the administration of the Conde d'Oeyros, but also to take a survey of the occurrences of the former reign.

Don John the Vth, on his accession to the throne, found his kingdom involved in war; and though by the assistance of his allies it was then carried on upon an offensive plan against Spain, the inveterate enemy of his crown, yet, by the vicissitudes common to human affairs, that war might have taken a contrary turn, and have proved ruinous in the greatest degree, as Spain had never positively renounced her claim to that kingdom, till the peace of Utrecht; nor were the interests of Portugal till then finally, and totally settled. And the Sovereigns of that kingdom were then, for the first time, admitted to sign the common treaty jointly with the other great powers of Europe, by which the Court of Lisbon became possessed of the high footing it
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has ever since retained. The riches which flowed into Portugal from the new discovered mines of Brazil, gave that Sovereign all possible means of supporting his grandeur, and the disposition of his mind was proper for employing it. Conscious of the importance of being properly represented in foreign Courts, he not only was careful in the choice of such persons as he sent out on embassies, but he allowed greater salaries than any other Monarch to his Minister. In the interior government of the kingdom he consulted many, and never gave up his whole confidence to any particular person. The wars in which Portugal had been engaged for many years, had introduced numberless abuses. The nobility, in particular, had separated their interests both from those of the crown and the people; and keeping closely connected in the same cause, were in a manner subject to no law, but held the Sovereign at defiance, and the people in slavery. The people, on the other hand, having little or no property, were easily tempted to transgress the Laws, as they could readily find protection for their persons, under the patronage of the Great. All these evils were however happily ended by a masterly piece of policy; for by encouraging commerce, the people became opulent, and capable of living in a degree of splendour unknown in former times, while the nobility, to keep up the same degree of distinction they had been used to, fell into extravagancies, whereby they embarrassed their affairs, and brought themselves more to a level with the rest of the nation than they would otherwise have consented to.

So that this wise Sovereign, without violence, became possessed of the mastery, and had the happiness to see the laws duely executed throughout all his dominions without distinction of persons, according to the privileges due to every individual. This monarch was the first of the Bragança Family that in fact was truly Sovereign of Portugal; for though the throne had been filled by three preceding Monarchs of that House, they had not only been in continual conflict with Spain, but the nobility likewise, availing themselves of the share they had born in setting Don John the IVth, when Duke of Bragança, on the throne, and afterwards in placing Don Peter in his brother's stead; the laws, through the timidity of the first, and the affection of the latter, had been suspended; so that the task of fixing the royal prerogative remained unperformed till the time of the late Sovereign, who accomplished it without bloodshed, and left it complete to his son and successor Don Joseph, his present Most Faithful Majesty.

Whenever we see the salutary effects of wise Councils, it is natural to think we should ourselves, in the like case, have advised the like measures, concluding they were so obvious, that none other could have been adopted, but from the greatest stupidity or villainy.

The long and uninterrupted peace which Portugal enjoyed under that Monarch, the quiet possession of Brazil, and her valuable treasures, are by ordinary minds regarded as matters of course; but men, better acquainted with the world, will easily perceive

perceive, that the least misconduct might have made a very great alteration in those matters ; and when they consider the distance of these colonies from the mother country ; the immense riches they produce ; and the inability of Portugal to defend them against an invader ; they must readily perceive, that as it has not been by force that they are preserved, it must have been by the most prudent and refined policy.

Accordingly, that wise and great Monarch saw plainly, that the riches of his colonies might naturally create a jealousy in some ambitious neighbour, from whose power, being greater than that of Portugal, he should not be able to defend them. He happily concerted a plan therefore whereby it became the interest of all to join in his views ; for reserving the commerce of Brazil to his subjects alone, he opened the ports of Portugal for the admission of strangers of all nations ; both as places of residence for their subjects, and as marts for the productions of their countries ; by which means the several states of Europe, contented with the share they enjoyed in these particulars, not only left Portugal in quiet possession of her colonies, but were even brought to think they could be possessed by no other power, so much to the general advantage of Europe. By these wise measures did that great Monarch procure peace and tranquility to his subjects ; afford them the means of increasing their fortunes ; and secure the friendship of foreign nations : while, by the increase of the royal revenue, he had an opportunity of indulging his munificence
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and love of his people. Every place that he visited was made to profit by his presence; and all the different parts of his kingdom received alternately marks of the royal favour; witness the library at the University of Coimbra; and the hospital at the Caldas, or hot baths of that country; while the noble structure of Maffra, at a small distance from Lisbon, and the palace and gardens of Neceffidade, will be lasting marks of his magnificence, that have escaped the effects of the earthquake. If the buildings for the patriarchal church have proved less durable, that circumstance is owing to the effect of other councils, which have with great pains, and at a great expence demolished those structures, which were formed capable of a long duration; and the considerable revenues he established for that church, are now of great benefit to the state. This wise monarch, though he maintained a good harmony with all the states of Europe, yet was closely connected with such only as were necessary to the advantage of his kingdom: such as England and Holland, the two principal maritime powers at that time who could secure his navigation; and Spain, who by her vicinity might be hurtful. The preserving the closest friendship with England, was of the greatest importance; yet the effecting it was attended with no small difficulty, as the English were by treaty entitled to a part in the Brazil trade, which he found was on all accounts necessary to be kept in the possession of his own subjects only; but such was the esteem in which he was held, that the English nation were not only brought to suspend their claim,

claim, but they even continued with equal ardour to cultivate the friendship of Portugal, as if the treaties between them had been fully and strictly observed; insomuch, that when on a disagreement with Spain, a naval force was thought necessary to the happy conclusion of that affair, a fleet of twenty sail of men of war of the line was immediately granted on the first application, and sent out with the utmost expedition.

Thus that great and wise Monarch, beloved by his subjects, and esteemed by foreigners, continued long an ornament and blessing to his people in general: Unfortunately for himself and them, a violent stroke of the palsy rendered him incapable of conducting the affairs of the nation as before. Then it was that people began to perceive the wisdom of former measures, by a comparison with those that succeeded.

During the King's illness, the Queen Consort was appointed regent. His present Most Faithful Majesty, then Prince of Brazil, whether from the known filial duty and submission he always bore his parents, or from a mildness of temper natural to him, was not included in the regency. The Princess was eminent for her virtue; but being rather disposed for the retirement of a contemplative life, than for the hurry of business, the whole conduct of affairs was entrusted to a person of the noble Family of Moscoso, a man of a busy temper, who having acquitted himself with diligence and integrity in the management of some internal regulations, respecting convents, and such like matters, had in the end
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been called to court. This person, known by the name of Frey Gaspar, having in his youth embraced a monastick life, and become a Friar of the Order of St. Francis, he had contracted principles very different from what might have been expected from his birth, and possessed none but such as were to be acquired in a Convent where he had been accustomed to rail against the magnificence of Courts, and the show of grandeur so necessary for the distinction of different ranks of men.

His manner of thinking having been there fixed to the regulations necessary for a private community, unluckily the same narrow principles prevailed; and were adopted by him in his administration of the public concerns. Incapable of comprehending the wisdom of the grand and enlarged plan on which his Sovereign had proceeded, he thought every thing lost to the kingdom which went out of it, on any account whatever, even though for the purchasing of necessaries: "All that is useful, and all that is necessary," said he, "may be found within the kingdom, and people ought to be content with the productions of their own country." The Monk, accustomed to abhor the splendour of dress, immediately endeavoured to suppress in the great world, what he had been taught to hate in a cell. A law was published to prohibit not only mechanicks and artizans, but even persons of the highest rank, from wearing gold or silver in their clothes, and silks of more than one colour; all foreign-made buckles, buttons, &c. were prohibited; with numberless other articles, most of which could not be made in
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the kingdom, and many of which, for the convenience of individuals, were become necessary; but, according to the maxims of this administration, every thing that was foreign was to be suppressed. An outcry was raised against all foreigners that resided in the kingdom; if any of them lived with the appearance of greater opulence than others, it was attributed to the wealth acquired by impositions on the state; while others, of a more retired way of life, were regarded as persons who impoverished the state by locking up the wealth they acquired; and the worst of names were thought most expressive of the qualities of the most respectable merchants.

The President of the Custom-house, one Antonio da Costa Freire, a man of great subtlety and address, had raised himself by several mean and low practices to favour. He was of too unbounded an ambition not to join the common cry on this occasion; and used all foreigners who came before him, in so shameful a manner, that captains of ships could not be induced, unless through absolute necessity, such as the entrance and clearances of their vessels, to approach an officer, whose unmannerly expressions and haughty behaviour were insupportable.

New regulations for oppressing foreign trade were every day invented, new valuations of imports brought into practice instead of the rates anciently established at the Custom-house. For the further increasing the amount of these imposts, the salaries of the several officers were abolished, and a certain portion of the annual income appropriated towards supplying the same; so that, the income of every

Custom officer, depending on the increase or decrease of the whole revenue ; it became their interest to value all goods as high as possible, that their salaries might rise with the revenue ; nor did the President confine himself to these regulations only, but endeavoured, by an affected show of zeal for the royal interest, to render himself still more acceptable, and advance his fortune.

With this view he entered into a research concerning past transactions, that some pretense might be found for levying penalties ; but no foundations for such exactions appearing, that all the trouble might not be lost, an artifice was thought of, which served as a colour for palliating an oppressive demand, previously intended to be made on foreigners. It was observed, in the course of this search, that the quantity of white sugars was less in the exports than in the imports ; and that the quantity of brown sugars was proportionably larger ; an account therefore was made of the supposed difference, and the same levied on the dealers in sugar ; not according to what appeared in the Custom-house books, but in proportion to the amount of their respective dealings : And here it must be remarked, that if this observation afforded ground for a demand of any sort, that demand ought to have been made on the officers who had erroneously rated the imposts ; and not on the merchants, who were obliged to pay as the Custom-house officers charged ; for the merchants report was not trusted ; but the officers bored all the chests, in order to discover whether the sugars were of a better or worse quality ; so
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that if any mistake was committed, the error, in that case was the King's officers, and on them it ought to have fallen ; but the whole of this affair was carried on in so arbitrary a manner, that no possibility of making any defence could be obtained, without first submitting to a sequestration of effects, to thrice the value of the sum demanded.

The President of the Customs, however, in a subsequent administration, fell by a like despotic order ; he was arrested, and confined to a dungeon, without being ever admitted to a trial.

Thus the health of the state declined, as the King's illness advanced ; relief was wanted, but none was to be found, though every one pretended to a concern and an officious attention for setting things upon a better footing ; for in reality each regarded only his own private interests or ambition ; and as a pretense to patriotism was the best cloak for concealing their designs, each endeavoured to recommend himself by railing at all foreign connections, and to give proof of his abilities by producing schemes for abolishing them : the President of the Custom-house was not a little active in this respect ; but the person who made the greatest efforts for succeeding, was the present prime minister of Portugal, now Conde d'Oeyros, but then known by the name of Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho. Though naturally of a violent, overbearing temper, he knew how to dissemble when it suited his interest, and that by a pliant behaviour it was necessary to obtain the friendship or protection of those above him. This man was born at a little village called Pombal, in

the neighbourhood of Coimbra, where his father had a farm; his uncle, who had entered into the ecclesiastical state, went to Lisbon, where he got preferment, and by degrees was advanced to a place at court, where he was made *Sumiller da Curtina*: In this post he was not unmindful of his brother at Pombal, but by degrees got him advanced to the high employment of Dezembargador, in the city of Oporto; and being himself a single man, carefully provided for his brother's family. The eldest son, Sebastian, was sent by him to the University, and from thence called to Lisbon, where he was placed as an upper servant in a noble family; some time after he obtained a commission in the army, but having gained the affections of a young lady of quality, whom he married, the lady's relations were so enraged, that he was forced to hide himself to avoid the effects of their resentment; for which purpose he retired to the neighbourhood of Pombal till matters were accommodated, when he returned again to Lisbon; there gaining advancement by the credit of his uncle, and the honour of the alliance he had contracted, he was sent to the Court of England with the character of Envoy, where, having resided several years, he was at length recalled, not without strong marks of dislike on the part of the English Ministry: he was afterwards sent to the Court of Vienna, where (his former wife having been dead some years) he contracted marriage with a lady of quality, sister to the late Count Daun, commander of the Austrian army; and in this alliance he was protected by the Queen Consort of Portugal, who being herself

self a German by birth, was glad of drawing the ladies of her country to Portugal. Caliaris, Captain of the Queen's Guard, who had married a German lady, of the family of Holstein, was likewise greatly assistant in concluding this match. Carvalho, after his marriage, being returned to Lisbon, exerted his utmost abilities to obtain employment; the Queen Consort, and Caliaris, his patron, were desirous of promoting his interests; but the old King, weak and infirm as he was, declared himself strongly against him, and would by no means consent to the admitting him into any share of the administration. It was in vain that his friends represented the experience he had obtained in the two great Courts in which he had resided, and the necessity there was of employing a person who understood their connections and interests; tired with importunities, the King at length declared himself to this effect: "Why will you be always pestering me
 " about this man; do you want to fill my kingdom with troubles and sedition; you think perhaps I am not acquainted with the extent of his
 " capacity; but I am, and know that he is fit for
 " nothing but the governing of a chandler's shop,
 " or at best for the chicanery of the law, and would
 " shortly set you all together at variance; besides,
 " I know the hardness of his heart, that it is covered
 " with hair;" a Portuguese phrase, signifying much the same as when in English we say, as hard as a stone. Thus all efforts to bring him in were for some time in vain; but afterwards a more favourable opportunity presented itself. The decease of the old King, hav-
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ing given room to the succession of his son, his present Most Faithful Majesty, it was found expedient to supply the many vacancies that had happened during the sickness of the former Sovereign ; accordingly Carvalho was appointed Secretary of State jointly with Diego de Mendonça, natural son to a person of the same name, who had formerly been honoured with that office, and in which he had shown such great abilities, that he had acquired the nick-name of *Sete Cabeças*, or *Seven Heads*.

His son, the new Secretary, was a man of great natural parts, and of improved abilities ; but of a quiet, easy temper, delighting rather in the enjoyment of the society of men of learning, than in the pursuit of ambitious projects ; yet always assiduous in promoting every opportunity of increasing the public welfare, and of continuing a harmony between his Sovereign and his people ; principles which he had adopted from his father, and had himself adhered to, without entering into projects that had nothing but their novelty to recommend them ; satisfied with the uprightness of his intentions, he chose rather to recommend himself by the prudence of his Counsels, than by a time-serving affected assiduity.

Carvalho, by a different behaviour, soon got the start of his colleague ; he had studied the temper of his new master while Prince, and had discovered that the same mild disposition which induced him, then, not to interfere in the government, now made him regard the trouble and pains that would arise from royalty, with displeasure ; as they must necessarily deprive him of the time he chose to spend in
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the amusements of music, hunting, horsemanship, &c. in which he was well skilled, and used to be much employed.

Carvalho, availing himself of this disposition in his Sovereign, made his court to him by flattering the King's inclinations, and proposing such schemes as were most likely to conduce to the effecting his purposes; he therefore failed not to show that, the kingdom being in profound peace, and the revenues of the crown large, nothing was more reasonable than that his Majesty should indulge himself in the enjoyment of pleasures, which were not only innocent in themselves, but were likewise conducive to civilizing the manners of his subjects: and that, by appointing proper ministers for the transacting of public affairs, his Majesty acquitted himself sufficiently of the charge of his duty; as both his subjects and himself would, in such a situation, be equally happy: but that if any one was bold enough to oppose these measures, such ministers should be chosen as knew how to support the dignity of Majesty, by a proper exertion of its authority; giving the King to understand, he only was that person, by a close application to such business as he imagined his Sovereign was desirous should be soonest dispatched; and forwarding, with particular assiduity, whatever might conduce to his Master's recreation. Accordingly an opera-house was thought of, and erected at an immense expense; musicians of the greatest eminence were sought for, and obtained; but the acquisition of a particular eunuch, famous for his voice and manner of singing, was a work of
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cost and time ; for the crafty Italian knew so well how to make his bargain, that he obtained no less a salary than three thousand moidores for one year's performance ; besides house rent, table, equipage, &c. Parties of pleasure also were continually going on, particularly to a country place up the river, called Salvaterra ; for defraying of which, Carvalho was ever careful to find the necessary sums ; while at proper opportunities, he conveyed to his Majesty numberless plans for increasing the revenues, trade, and navigation of his kingdom, at the expense of foreigners. Thus the King was persuaded, that his subjects welfare was in good hands, and that he himself had been singularly happy in finding out so able and diligent a Minister ; while under the pretence of supporting the rights of the Prince, the nobility were kept low ; and under the mask of patriotism, the subtle Favourite oppressed the foreign merchants through the sides of the natives, whom he likewise equally injured ; that all states being kept low, he might rule without opposition. Carvalho's plans were not confined to the interior œconomy of government ; Ministers were sent to all the Courts of Europe ; not only because they conduced to the display of the grandeur of their Sovereign, but likewise as they gave an opportunity of forming intrigues, from whence difficulties might arise, which would render his service more necessary.

That such was the plan of this Minister will appear from the survey of the subsequent transactions ; for having gained the entire confidence of his Sovereign, he has had full liberty to follow his own inclinations,

inclinations, and execute his whole scheme with the most unlimited control; it must not therefore be expected to meet here with the grand schemes of a Richlieu; much less to find the amicable and reconciliatory disposition of a Sully, and the public spirit of that able and good man; on the contrary, the following occurrences will only serve as woeful mementos to be avoided by others. The kingdom of Portugal, by the constitution of the realm, is subjected to a limited monarchy. The Sovereign on great occurrences, such as the levying of taxes, &c. always used to consult his Cortes, and no proclamation, or decree of the King, that was to take place for more than a year, was valid, unless it had first passed through the Tribunal of the *Dezembargo do Paço*, and been registered in the Chancery Court of the kingdom.

The Cortes consisted of the three states, or orders of the people, divided into nobility, clergy, and commonalty; all of whom were represented by deputies, chosen out of each state.

These Cortes were continued long after the accession of the Bragança Family to the throne; till they appointed each of them a Member to represent them; by which means the power and authority of the whole body, fell into the hands of three persons only; these by degrees came under the power of the King: so that at present the three Estates of the Kingdom, or *Junta dos tres Estados*, as it is called, are no more than a Tribunal governed by three persons, named by the King for that purpose.

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The great hereditary possessions of the Bragança Family, which the Sovereigns of that line enjoy in their own right, and the disposal of the revenues belonging to several orders of Knighthood of ecclesiastical institution, which had been largely endowed, and of which the Sovereign was become possessed, by uniting the mastery in the throne, have altogether enabled the monarchs of that kingdom to defray the necessary charges of government without fresh supplies from the people ; nay, the amount of the royal revenues has increased to such a degree by the increase of the wealth of Brazil, that above one third of the property of the whole kingdom is supposed to centre in the crown ; so that by weight of property the King has been able to arrive at the height of power within his dominions. In this he was not a little assisted by the imprudent behaviour of the nobility, who, at the accession of the Bragança Family, never established any constitution of government, but, as by their own power, they thought themselves capable of protecting themselves, took no care of the people ; by which means the people, when oppressed, could not support themselves ; and when the nobility came to be oppressed in their turn, they received no help from the people. Each state was successively oppressed, and both brought under the most despotick government ; the power of the clergy likewise fell with that of the people ; for their weight, consisting only in the influence they had on the mind of the subject, that influence became of no effect, when the power of exerting it was lost ; thus the power of the whole legislature,

legislature, by degrees, fell to the Sovereign. This had been perceived by the late King, who had indulged that power in some instances relative to private inclinations, but had not exerted it in publick transactions; the Count d'Oeyros, by his experience of foreign countries, and particularly of England, perceiving the strength of such a situation of affairs, exerted it in its fullest force; so that Portugal is become the seat of despotism in Europe, being governed with as uncontrolled a sway as any part of Barbary; for nothing is more frequent than orders from the Crown, with this remarkable injunction, "*Notwithstanding all laws to the contrary.*"

The new reign was scarcely begun, when the Minister laid hold of an opportunity of displaying his arbitrary disposition.

Some of the young nobility, being gone to a festival at a country village, called Odevellos, about two leagues from Lisbon; a running footman belonging to one of them, was bit by a dog as he went along; upon which the footman, making a lunge with his staff, stabbed the dog with a spike that was at the end of it. The townsmen, enraged, assembled to revenge the death of their dog; and the young noblemen took the part of their footman: an uproar ensued; the headborough appeared; and, desirous of supporting his townsmen, pretended, not only to arrest, but even to confine several of the nobility. The extravagant and absurd exercise of authority, which this partial headborough made use of, produced only scoffs and ridicule, and no harm

happened, save only that the headborough's staff was broke in the scuffle.

Complaint, however, was made to court of the affair, which was there represented as an insult on Majesty, and though under any other administration, or in any other kingdom, this adventure would only have been laughed at, or at most met with a reprimand; yet here it was considered in a serious light, and the young nobility concerned were treated as state criminals, insomuch that after being all imprisoned, some of them were banished to distant provinces, and others transported to the colonies. This rigorous treatment upon so trifling an occasion, shown towards persons of the first rank, inspired every one with horror, from the dreadful prospect which so despotic a measure afforded at the beginning of the administration; fearing, as it afterwards proved, that it was only the prelude to greater misfortunes. Fresh cause of affliction soon followed. The riches of Portugal arise from its colonies in Brazil, and the commerce carried on to that country: This commerce had always been open to all Portuguese subjects who thought fit to engage therein; for the better conducting of it, convoys of men of war were appointed at proper times, for the different parts of Brazil; and the merchant ships destined for those ports, used to depart with their respective convoys in fleets: In the same manner on their arrival at the ports of Brazil, publication was made of the number of days the men of war were permitted to remain; to the end that such ships as were to return to Europe, might be

ready with their cargoes to partake of the opportunity of going and returning in fleets, escorted by ships of war.

These fleets were four in number.

One went to the port of Rio de Janeiro.

One to Bahia, or the Bay of All-saints.

One to Pernambuco and Paraiba.

One to Maranham and Grand Para.

This manner of trading was to be abolished, and the commerce of Brazil, which before had been open to all the subjects of Portugal, was to be confined to the whole and sole use of exclusive companies, who alone were to be permitted to trade to those countries.

Monopolies of so extensive a nature, as they deprived many of an advantage which was conferred on a few, must be displeasing to the public; and therefore it was naturally to be supposed would meet with opposition. Care, however, had been taken to prepossess the Sovereign in their favour, by assuring him that this manner of trading was countenanced by the practice of those nations which made the greatest figure in commerce, and owed their glory to it. That Holland had an East India Company, and a Curaço Company. That England in particular encouraged companies, there being in that Kingdom a South Sea Company, an East India Company, a Hudson's Bay Company, and an African Company, besides companies for insuring of ships and houses; as also for the Bank, or deposit of the public credit. That it was from the resource the government found in these establishments,

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England had been able to raise such incredible sums. That his Faithful Majesty's colonies were productive of much more wealth than those of England, and consequently, if properly managed, might yield greater supplies; that though, by reserving this trade to the advantage of these companies, a seeming prejudice arose therefrom to his subjects in general; yet it was only so in appearance, every one being at liberty to partake of the advantages of those companies by purchasing actions, and becoming a proprietor in them. To this was added a pretended patriotic zeal for rescuing, as it was termed, the kingdom from the power of foreigners, as thereby the trade being managed by fewer persons, the foreign commodities necessary for Brazil, might not only be purchased at a lower price, but also those of Brazil sold for more than had been usual.

These were the reasons alledged by the minister; if it be further considered, that such institutions must afford great opportunities of creating dependents, by the disposal of directorships, and by receiving gratuities for favours; as also that it brought the management of affairs more immediately under the direction of the minister than it had been before; it is evident, that motives, of a private nature were not wanting, and probably were more cogent than the pretended ones alledged.

This plan was first to take place in the districts of Maranham and Grand Para, the most southerly settlements, that the others might be taken in successively. The true reason, however, of beginning
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with these districts was, that the above colonies, though *young*, were in a most thriving condition; the soil of the country being very rich, and producing almost spontaneously cacao and cotton, Ipecacuana, sarsaparilla, and numberless other drugs, to be had there only for the trouble of gathering them in the woods, insomuch that many persons engaged in that trade had got fortunes in a short time. This had occasioned so great an increase in the navigation to those parts, that from the whole commerce being carried on in three ships only, in less than five years time, the number had been augmented to fourteen. As the fate of future undertakings, therefore, would depend greatly on the success of this first trial, it was thought proper to begin with the choicest and most promising part of the Brazil commerce; accordingly a royal decree was issued, assigning over the trade to and from Grand Para and Maranham, to the whole and sole use of an exclusive company, and prohibiting all other persons whatever from engaging therein. A charter of privileges was likewise formed on such favourable conditions, that part of the duties formerly paid by private adventurers, while the trade lay open, was now abated in favour of the company, with many other advantages of the like nature. Directors were also appointed, and a judge conservator instituted, who alone was to determine in all causes, relative not only to the company and directors, but even to the proprietors of the company's stock.

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However specious this scheme had been made to appear, people acquainted with the nature of commerce were soon able to see through it; and indeed the loss which ensued to a great number of people, made it but too sensibly felt, as by this, Grand Para charter, some thousands of persons were deprived of their livelihood.

At this period there was a Junta, or board of commerce, composed of merchants eminent for their abilities and integrity. To this board had belonged, from time immemorial, the regulation of all colony affairs; and though sometimes things had been proposed in a higher council for the advancement of these countries, yet matters used always to be transmitted to this board, and nothing was determined on till the opinion of the Junta had been returned; no such consultation, or communication, however, was observed in regard to the Grand Para Company: The Junta, therefore, considering the importance of the affair, drew up a petition to the King, representing in the most respectful terms the prejudice that might arise from so hastily concluding a matter of such great importance to the royal revenue, the navigation of the kingdom, and the concern of all traders employed in that branch of commerce. They observed, that the practice of England was so far from favouring measures of this sort, that monopolies of all kinds were held there in the greatest detestation; that even the India and Hudson's Bay Companies were much complained of; and that none were permitted for engrossing the commerce, carried on by the subjects of that kingdom,

kingdom, from one part of the King's dominions to the other ; but on the contrary, that the trade of the West Indies, America, and colonies, was always open and free, as that of Brazil had till then been.

This petition of the Junta, though drawn up in the most respectful terms, and presented with the greatest submission, was treated as an infamous and seditious libel ; the authors of it were arrested, and cast into separate dungeons, where they were confined for several days, without being allowed the least communication with their friends or nearest relations. Transportation, or a public whipping, were talked of as the slightest punishments they were to expect, to which it was added, that some would infallibly be put to death. Such was the situation in which these unfortunate men remained till the earthquake, when being released from their confinement by the fall of a part of the prison, and the desertion of the guards, they had an opportunity of throwing themselves at the King's feet, and thereby obtained pardon, on the promise of a more circumspect behaviour for the future. A lawyer and a counsellor, who had been consulted in drawing up the petition, were transported to the coast of Africa : Thus ended the only opposition that was made to so pernicious a scheme, and the Minister remained triumphant ; the violent treatment of those who had acted thus from a principle of duty, deterred all others ever after from interfering, people thinking it both unsafe and unprofitable in so despotic a government, and under so cruel an administration, to deliver their sentiments,

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when they differed from those of the Minister, whose power became every day more confirmed and established.

The earthquake of the 1st of November 1755, which proved ruinous to thousands, afforded, however, a favourable opportunity for the exertion of the talents of the Minister, whose power flourished amidst the misery of his country. The Directors of the Grand Para Company were set to work for carrying that scheme into execution. The Junta of Commerce which had been so troublesome was dissolved, and another, composed of members of a more pliant disposition, was formed, with powers of so extensive a nature, that they could take cognizance of any business which the Minister should think fit to commit to them; by these means also he lessened the power of another ancient Tribunal, called the *Concelho da Fazenda*; which being composed of men of learning and capacity, who had acquired their places by many years service in various posts of trust in the kingdom, had been always reckoned of great weight; but by this new regulation they became of very little consequence, the active part of their office falling into the hands of the Junta.

To this Junta was likewise committed the judgment and determination of all bankruptcies. It was invested with a power of granting certificates, and of absolving the bankrupt without control from the researches and opposition of the creditors: This partial behaviour, calculated for screening the natives against the just demands of foreigners, was nevertheless the only measure exerted in their favour,

vour, and that evidently at the expence of public faith, and the justice due to other nations : Mean while the King's attention was amused with an infinite number of laws and decrees, which the Minister was every day preparing and publishing ; by these it was pretended the people were to be new modelled, and inspired with a spirit of industry ; but so little were they suited for that purpose, that they produced no other effect, than by the load of impositions contained in them, to render the people still more dispirited, and consequently more fitted for a slavish subjection. As these new regulations, however, were composed in a very pompous stile, and made strong declarations of their being calculated for the public good, they were collected together, and published in a large volume, under the title of *Providentias* ; the frontispiece of this work was adorned with a copper-plate print, representing David playing before Saul to relieve him from the evil spirit. That such prints bear an allusion to the subject to which they are prefixed, is generally understood ; yet that by this emblem, the Minister intended to declare, that he was engaged in expelling a demon out of his Royal Master ; or that it was meant to show, how great a power he had over his affections, cannot be positively averred ; but certain it is, that a print of this nature, prefixed to such a work, affords room not at all unfavourable to such a supposition.

Ideal schemes of grandeur were laid down, which procrastinated the raising of new buildings, but no assistance was afforded to the citizens of Lisbon for

alleviating their distresses which then bore hard upon them; the only aid they received, arose from the present sent by the English nation, the benefit of which was also greatly diminished by the manner in which it was distributed.

The new Junta, to show their zeal for the Royal Service, and how widely they differed in sentiments from the members of the old Junta which had been abolished, presented a petition, requesting his Majesty to accept of a free gift of $4 \frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to be levied at the custom-house, on all imports; which his Majesty accepted.

Shop-keepers, and retailers of all kinds, were now compelled to purchase licences for exercising their occupations, or submit themselves to a yearly payment according to their employments: The Minister still carefully attending to the maxim he had constantly in view, to keep the people low, that they might be humble and obedient.

The disposition of matters relative to collecting the public revenues, and the keeping of the treasures arising therefrom, have been in all states regarded as objects worthy the attention of every Minister; the Favourite, therefore, took that branch of administration under his own cognizance, established a new office, called the Erario, in which not only all the public accounts were, from that time forward, to be given; but also all public revenues paid in, and all expenses of the kingdom defrayed: Of this Erario the Minister was appointed

pointed Grand-treasurer, and a favourite of his, Sub-treasurer ; so that the whole public revenue of the nation, collected into one spot, is now under the management of these two men ; the other Members of the Erario being only so many clerks and tellers, who settle the accounts, and deliver the product to the Grand-treasurer and Sub-treasurer : This business had been performed in several distinct departments, all which were accountable to one office, or chamber of accounts, called *Caza dos Contos* ; which office was now abolished on the establishment of the new Erario. One very hard circumstance in this affair was, that the employments of the *Caza dos Contos*, having been hereditary, they were mostly held by persons who had received them by succession : These were now all left to look out for some other manner of livelihood, the posts of the Erario having been filled up with favourites of the Treasurer, most of whom were taken from the Junta of Commerce, which had so opportunely made the offer of the free gift of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the imports of the kingdom.

A hall or academy of commerce was likewise established, called *Aula de Commercio*, and professors named who were to teach the rules of book-keeping. Rules of tare and trett, and such other mercantile branches of knowledge. People were invited to send their sons there, and great encouragement was promised to such as should resort to it, and follow the course of life pointed out by this establishment. Thus Lisbon became speculatively the Parnassus of
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Commerce, while practically it was only the seat of oppression. Public acts were held at the college, and speeches composed and delivered in public in praise of the Minister and the undertaking, the only produce which has been known as yet to have arisen from this fantastical establishment.

The Minister, nevertheless, in the midst of his security was fearful, lest the benignity of his Sovereign should be wrought upon to pay a favourable attention to the complaints of the people, if their groans reached the Royal Ear. To prevent this, the King's residence was no longer to be held at Lisbon, but his habitation removed to a bleak hill of difficult access, about three miles distant from that city, that his Majesty might not become a witness to distresses, which his humanity would undoubtedly have induced him to relieve.

The residence of the Kings of France at Versailles, was alledged as an example for his Portuguese Majesty's residing at the miserable habitation of *Ajuda*; and here the artful Minister had frequent opportunities, at leisure, to lay before him his plans, which, though under a continued cloak of patriotic ardour, were calculated only to create disturbances, and render himself more necessary. The distresses of Portugal also were always lamented, and as constantly attributed to her connections with foreign nations, inverting the system observed by the old King, during the happiest period of that Monarch's reign, and choosing rather to trust to the contrivance of an artful behaviour for the preservation of the independency of the kingdom, than to the
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more solid basis of a mutual advantage, according to the new system of politics. The inactivity of Spain was sufficient to free him from any apprehension from that quarter. The views of Holland were engaged in channels which afforded sufficient employment; and the maritime force of that Republic was not now formidable as in former times. A proper management of France and England was therefore considered as the only objects of attention; and by the jealousy subsisting between those two nations, they were thought to be as easily managed as others; for if the trade of France to Portugal was less than that of England; so likewise were the expectations of Portugal from that quarter; and if the naval force of England rendered the friendship of that nation a proper support to the independency of Portugal, the amount of her commerce to Portugal, secured a continuance of that friendship, while the commerce carried on by the French, and the flattering hope of an approaching increase were sufficient to hold France not indifferent to the interests of the Portuguese, though otherwise closely connected with Spain: By loading therefore the commerce both of England and France with new oppressions, the ministers of each nation were silenced with an affected notion of preference, any complaint gave occasion to display: For when the French complained, they were told that the English, though entitled to their trade by treaty, were not so overbearing as the French; and if at any time complaint was made by England, the answer was, that France was less exorbitant, and would be

be glad to enter into the same engagements which England made so light of. Thus the interests of each was played off against the other, and the success with which this artifice had been attended, established the reputation of the Prime Minister's abilities, who on these accounts was deemed capable of overcoming the greatest difficulty by his counsels and address. The regulations for the imports were reckoned sufficient to make them every day decline; measures therefore were taken respecting the exports. As the English merchants at Oporto carried on a considerable commerce in wines, which were sent by them to England, and other parts of the British Empire; that this branch of commerce might be made subservient to the views of the Minister, a new company was established in that city, under the title of a Company for Encouraging and Improving the Agriculture of Vineyards in *Alto Douro*; and to it was granted the exclusive privilege of dealing in wine, both in that province, and in the whole district, for the compass of three leagues round Oporto: By these means the company became the sole purchasers and vendors of wine all over the province, one small district excepted, which was reserved for the English trade, but which was very insufficient for that purpose. The company, however, being calculated for a check on the English trade, it was authorised to superintend the English traders, to call them before its board, to interrogate them at their pleasure, to taste, to value their wines, and mark the valuation on their casks: It had also the privilege of pressing
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into its service, boats, and carts for carriage, which in that province are frequently very scarce, with other immunities, which always gave it an advantage over the English traders, who were under the necessity of paying a high price for the wine they purchased, while the company, by the extent of its jurisdiction, and being the sole purchasers, were able to obtain theirs at an easy rate.

Accordingly such have been the effects of this institution, that some of the English traders have been ruined by it, and others greatly distressed; all likewise must be highly injured, whenever it may be thought fit to exert the powers of the company to its utmost extent. Yet, whatever prejudice the English received from this establishment, they alone were not the sufferers; for if the proprietors of the small district allotted for the English, were benefited by this restriction in their favour, in the advanced prices they obtained for their wines; in all the province besides, the inhabitants were hurt by being reduced to the necessity of selling to the company only. The boatmen, carmen, coopers, and other artizans, who, while they dealt with foreigners, could obtain high wages, and prompt payment, were to expect a great change when they came to deal with a company endowed with such extensive privileges, and supported by a favourite Prime Minister. This the unhappy inhabitants saw with affliction, yet nobody of property durst venture to petition, or draw up an address for obtaining relief: Things were left therefore to take their course, till at length, the day appointed for the commence-

ment of this distressful scheme being arrived, which was to afflict the whole province of Oporto with a monopoly of wine, the natural drink and staple commodity of the country, from dealing in which many of the inhabitants enjoyed a comfortable livelihood, and of which they were now to be divested; several of the coopers, and others of the lower class of people, who saw themselves on the point of being deprived of their daily subsistence, rose, and broke the windows of the director of the company; but without doing further mischief, cried God save the King, and separated to their respective dwellings, after they found that no suspension of the dreadful edict was to be obtained by entreaties.

No sooner was the news of this transaction arrived at court, than it was regarded as a traiterous insurrection. Parties of soldiers were sent down to Oporto, and quartered on the inhabitants, and indulged in all sorts of excesses over the citizens, who were now considered as rebels: Nor were the foreigners residing in that town spared, but all the inhabitants were exposed to the most scandalous insults from the soldiery; particularly the English, though they had no hand in the uproar, because it was supposed they must wish well to it.

In the city of Oporto is a supreme court of judicature, called the *Relaçam* and before this court the rioters were brought; but after the Judges had taken cognizance of the matter, aggravated to the utmost pitch by the court lawyers, they did not find that the offense amounted to treason, or rebellion, nor that it was to be punished otherwise than as an
ordinary

ordinary riot ; the consequence was, that the judges were suspended, and others sent from Lisbon, who attainted upwards of three hundred of the rioters, of whom three and twenty were hanged, drawn and quartered ; among these was the Mayor of Oporto himself : Fifty or sixty more were whipped and transported ; and even those who were pardoned were ignominiously led round the gallows before they were dismissed.

Thus did the Minister revenge an insult on the Director of a company, which, for his patronage, is said to allow him a quarter of a moidore on every pipe of wine, amounting in the whole to not less than five thousand moidores per annum.

For his plans, being supported with power, were carried into execution, though contrary to the inclination and opinion of all true lovers to their country ; and every one was intimidated with the rigour of the punishment they had seen inflicted on others. The Jesuits, a powerful body, when the Count was first called to the administration, had appeared greatly in his favour ; but the monopoly of Grand Para interfering with their interests, they not only disapproved of that establishment, but thinking themselves above the power of the Minister, thought themselves under no necessity of concealing their sentiments ; this unusual want of precaution in that society, cost them dear. An inquest was sent over, and set up in Grand Para, for enquiring into the most secret practices of that religious body, under the eye of the Minister's brother, who was Governor of that province. A re-

port prejudicial to the character of these fathers came to Lisbon ; but what were the contents of this report remains a secret. However, soon after it was received, the King's Confessor, who was a Jesuit, and divers of his brethren were arrested and thrown into prison, and the Confessors of all the Royal Family changed, and taken out of other religious communities ; and in the end the whole body expelled the kingdom. What greatly facilitated the execution of this project, against so potent a body, was that in all countries of Europe the clamour was generally against them. This step of the Minister was therefore a high piece of policy, as by these means he not only rid himself of a powerful enemy, but also plainly displayed his ability of doing the same towards any other body of the state, as the people, notwithstanding their bigotted opinion of this community, could no way relieve them against his power, enforced by the Royal authority.

But how offensive soever this society had rendered itself, to the more improved countries of Europe, yet in Portugal, it must be acknowledged, they were a very useful body of men, as they instructed the youth in grammar and classical learning ; and in Grand Para, they had civilized many of the natives, and were making great progress in the useful work of disposing all the inhabitants to the reception of European ways of thinking.

On the destruction of the Jesuits, the Dominicans were by law authorised to take under their care
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the instruction of the Portuguese youth, but they have hitherto excused themselves.

At this period the minds of the people were perplexed with a variety of oppressive novelties. Trade was embarrassed, the nobility distressed, and the Sovereign diverted by a round of amusements from inspecting into the state of his kingdom; a lethargic spirit seemed to have taken possession of the Portuguese, when a new incident alarmed the city of Lisbon, now destined, as it were, by Providence, to exhibit a circle of tragical woes.

On the news of the death of the Queen of Spain, sister to his present Most Faithful Majesty, all the foreign ministers repaired to court to pay their compliments of condolance to the Royal Family; but to their great surprise, were told the King was encerrado, or shut up, on account of her death. The term used on this occasion appeared new, notwithstanding the attendants of the Royal Person in the palace declared, that it was usual for the Princes of the Royal House of Portugal, to retire into privacy on the death of so near a relation.

This account of the reason why the King was not to be seen, appeared the more extraordinary, inasmuch as his Majesty had been a shooting after the news arrived. Soon after it was given out that his Majesty had dislocated his arm, by a fall in the palace. This report seemed equally unaccountable, as the palace consisted all of one floor, without a step in any part of it.

At last it was roundly asserted that the King had been shot at, in his chaise, by the Tavoras, by night.

Several

Several persons thereupon resorted to a little fort at Jonqueira, near the river side, between Belem and Lisbon, where in fact they saw a chaise, which was somewhat shattered in the wood work and leather. This chaise was said to be that in which his Majesty rode, when this attempt was made on his life. The chaise was soon after removed to a court-yard of the palace called Patio das Vaccas.

In regard to the attempt, it was then said to have been made near a convent called Calvario, on the road from Lisbon to Belem; but the church, which is now building, in commemoration of his Majesty's deliverance, is in another place, at a distance between Belem and the palace; and this, by the Court, is declared to be the spot on which the affair happened: but, as nothing was ever positively known concerning it, except what appeared from the accounts published by the Court, in vindication of the sentence passed on the Tavoras, all that can be done is to present the readers with a narrative of these facts, in the manner as set forth in that sentence, together with the most authentic reports which prevailed at that time, without pronouncing for or against the reality of this supposed treason. But here it may not be amiss first to give some account of the offenders.

The Marquis of Tavora was head of a most illustrious family, descended from the Kings of Leon. At the time Portugal was regained from the Moors, his predecessors had made an invasion of that part where the family had ever since remained, on the banks of the River Tavora, and the conquered country

country continued in their possession, both as to the income, appointment of magistrates, and such like acts of supreme authority ; so that it was not till the reign of the last sovereign that the King's officers had been ever admitted to execute any authority there. The Marquis himself had been Viceroy of India, and was at this time General of the Cavalry. The young Marquis, his son, was married to a relation of great beauty. The Duke d'Aveiro Don Joze de Mascarenha by name, was second brother of that family ; his elder brother, the Marquis of Govea, Great Steward of the Household, had entertained a passion for a young Lady, who for the sake of certain family connections was however married to another nobleman. The two parties kept up an affection for each other. The lady, when at court, often used to steal privately to the apartment of the Great Steward, where having one evening remained longer than usual, the servants and equipage went away, thinking their mistress had returned home with some other lady. This accident occasioned terrible reflections in the mind of the lady, who immediately returned to her lover ; they both foresaw the most dangerous consequences ; whereupon they both went home to the house of the Marquis, who providing himself with what money he could collect at so short a notice, and with the best equipage he could get, immediately set out for Spain. The lady's family, led by the injured husband, went the next day to the palace to obtain an order that the parties might be stopped. The order was given, but the Marquis

quis being a favourite of the King, the Sovereign is said to have added " don't kill my horses." The fugitive couple thus arrived safe in Spain. The lady was disposed in a convent, where she ever after remained; the Marquis went on to Madrid. Thinking that no place of safety, the lady's relations having followed him thither, he set out from thence for England, and resided some years in London, where he kept the famous Polly Peachem of the first Beggar's Opera. A gentleman of the lady's family went over after him to London, and repaired immediately to the house of the Portuguese Envoy, who guessing at his intention, demanded of him if his errand was not to murder the Marquis? which he making no secret to own, the Envoy informed him of the certain danger that would arise from such an action; and so dissuaded him from it. The Marquis afterwards went to Venice, where he had two children by a celebrated dancer there; and seeing no prospect of returning to his native country, he agreed to relinquish the estate and title to his brother, Don Joze, on condition of receiving a certain yearly income. Don Joze being thus made Marquis of Govea, Earl of Santa Cruz, &c. and the old Duke of Aveiro dying soon after, the Marquis laid claim to the estate and title of that family, which was adjudged to him. The Duke d'Aveiro had married a sister of the Marquis of Tavora, and had a family; he intended to have married his eldest son to a sister of the Duke of Cadaval; the King had consented to the match, and every thing was agreed on between the

two families, so that nothing was now wanting but to finish the clothes, equipage, and furniture, of the contracted couple, which were preparing. For the Duke d'Aveiro being a person of a very magnificent disposition, had ordered every thing in the richest taste; for which large sums of money had been advanced to the workmen of whom they had been bespoke, and every thing was in great forwardness, when a message was sent from court, ordering a stop to be put to them, as the match should not take place.

The Minister used to declare that it was not proper this marriage should be concluded; for, he said, if the Duke de Cadaval should die without issue, the estate would come to the sisters, and from them, possibly, to the Aveiro family; so that such an inheritance would be too considerable. For these reasons the whole affair was overturned at once; the Duke d'Aveiro and the favourite remaining in an open and declared enmity to each other; by which however the Duke's interest suffered, as he was then actually soliciting the confirmation or continuance of certain commendas which had always been granted to the Aveiro family, but which had not hitherto been bestowed on him. It was also said that it was in part owing to this affair that the former was overturned in his design of the marriage; for the favourite, perceiving the greatness of the Duke's pretensions, thought they might be made a means of raising his own family, as by his friendship the Duke might be assured of all he could wish; and that in consequence thereof the Duke had received the most flattering promises; that on

the strength of these promises the Favourite thought he might venture to propose an alliance between them, by demanding a daughter of the Duke for his son, when of age, and that meeting with a repulse in this respect, he afterwards thwarted the Duke in all his pretensions.

During the absence of the old Marquis, whilst he was at his Vice-royalty at Goa, some reports had prevailed, not very favourable to the young Marchioness. These reports coming to his ears on his return, had occasioned great uneasiness in the family, and the lady having been in company with the Duke's family at Salvaterra, a country village, where the King used to go every year during the time of the Carnival; the Duke's conduct was in that respect greatly censured by the Tavoras, as it was supposed his M——y had there an opportunity of conversing with her. The Duke also having presented the lady with a very fine horse, several ornaments and other things of value, as a preparation for the party of diversion, was by the Tavoras supposed to have forwarded these meetings; in vindication, therefore, of his honour in that respect, it is pretended that the Tavoras required he should destroy the lady, and that for this purpose the two servants were engaged. What strengthens this conjecture is an event which happened about the same time. A gentlewoman who waited on the lady was missed from the house that very night the attack was made, and her body, with the head cut off, found soon afterwards buried in a dunghill, at the extremity of the town; yet no search was ever made for the authors of the murder.

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Certain it is that, whatever stories were given out concerning an ambitious design of attempting to ascend the throne, either in the Duke d'Aveiro, or the Marquis of Tavora, they are entirely groundless; neither do people think that the King was the object of their vengeance; but the young Marchioness: Many circumstances persuade a belief of this. For certain it is, that the chaise in which this adventure happened, was the same which was allotted to the service of a royal domestick, and wherein that lady was supposed to be often conveyed; the domestic also was actually in the chaise when the misfortune happened; and the servants of the Duke which were concerned, though by the credit of their master they might expect to be protected from punishment, for an attempt on the lady, could never think they could be screened from the punishment that must ensue such an attempt on the person of the Sovereign. Be these matters as they will, it is declared in the sentence published by the court, that the Marquis of Tavora, once Vice Roy of India, his lady and two sons, with his son-in-law, the Count of Atouguia, and the Duke d'Aveiro, the Marquis's brother-in-law, had conspired to murder the King. For this purpose they had engaged two of their servants to look out for his Majesty, and give them notice of his coming. On the approach of the chaise, the Duke d'Aveiro attempted to fire, but his blunderbuss only flashed in the pan, which frightening the mules, they turned short about, and went off, full gallop, the way they came; upon this the

other conspirators pursued the chaise, and having fired upon it from behind, repaired to the Duke d'Aveiro's house, where they were overheard talking about the matter by a person who had an intrigue with one of the housemaids, and who was at that time actually concealed in the apartment in which they met after the rencounter.

All things however remained still quiet, excepting that troops were put in march from every quarter towards Lisbon, under pretense of employing them to clear the streets of the city. But this artifice was speedily seen through, and it was universally expected, that as soon as a competent number of troops were arrived, some real or pretended delinquents would be taken up. The conspirators, had they been really such, must have been as sensible of this as any other persons whatever; yet so little were they on their guard, that the Tavora family, on the very night in which they were arrested, went to a ball, given by the English factory. During the supper, a gentleman having remarked that they were still in an outer room, supposing they had been neglected, accosted them, and entreated them to excuse the oversight, if any had happened; but the Marquis answered, that they remained there by choice. At the same instant another gentleman, who came in late, went up to the Marquis, in order to pay his compliments to him. The Marquis asked the latter what news, who replied, that he knew of none, and that he ought rather to have put that question to his Excellency, as he had seen several parties of soldiers
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in the streets as he came along, marching towards different parts of the town; the old Marquis said he knew of nothing particular, but ordered his younger son to take his carriage, and enquire into the occasion of the troops being in motion at those late hours. The young nobleman soon returned, and told his father that he had met a kinsman of theirs, a captain, who informed him that he had orders to march to Belem. No alteration of temper appeared in the Nobleman, and the ball went on as usual. Soon afterwards the Marquis retired with his sons.

The Marquis of Tancos, Governor of the Province, and another Nobleman, were at the same ball, and had orders, as was afterwards reported, to watch the Tavora family.

An English officer, who had been at the ball, on his way home, observed a party of soldiers investing the house of the Count de Villa Nova, brother to the Marquis of Tavora, who was immediately arrested. At eight o'clock the Marquis de Lorno and the Count Datouguia, the two Marquis's sons-in-law, were taken into custody at their respective houses, in different parts of the city, by two several parties of soldiers.

The party destined to invest the old Marquis of Tavora's house, some how or other mistook their way, and did not arrive there till ten o'clock: That old nobleman, having set out early the same morning for taking a bath, was by the way, informed of what had happened by a servant of the Marquis of Lorno, who had seen part of this dreadful scene, and had

had heard the rest. The Marquis ordered his driver to go directly to the palace, where he demanded an audience of the King. The unexpected arrival of this nobleman caused some confusion; the Marquis of Tancos, who was at that time in the palace, being a military man, and Governor of the province, pretended to a right to arrest him: This was disputed by the Corregidor do Paço, or chief magistrate of the palace, who alledged that it was his business. The Marquis de Tavora continued walking up and down an outward chamber till they could settle the dispute; to put an end to which, Don Lewis da Cunha, Secretary of State, who had formerly been Envoy in England, was ordered to demand the Marquis's sword, and to make him prisoner, which he delivered up with great composure. The words of the Marquis on this occasion, however contradictory to the sentence, or to outward appearances, ought not to be omitted. Sir, (said he) the sword I now deliver up to you, has often been serviceable in the hands of my ancestors; and ever since it has been in my possession, it has always been kept loyal to my King and Country. Much about the same time, a brother of the Marquis, who was a canon of the Patriarchal Church, was also arrested, and soon after another brother, colonel of a regiment, and who was then at Chaves.

The Duke d'Aveiro was at a country seat of his called Azeitam, on the side of the Tagus, opposite Lisbon, about two leagues from the river. He soon received the unwelcome news of what had passed,

passed, yet attempted not to make his escape: A party of soldiers were sent over the next day, who, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, environed the house, and brought him away prisoner: When he was arrested, he desired leave to dress himself, and, it is added, shifted from one room to another, as if he had been inclined to make off. It is certain, however, that he submitted quietly to the arrest, and that no opposition was made, excepting by some of his servants, who struck one of the soldiers with a stick at their entry; and indeed all these great persons, of the first families in the kingdom, were taken up with as much ease and quietness, as if they had been so many private persons.

The ladies of the above noblemen, and their children, some of whom were infants yet in arms, were soon afterwards seized and imprisoned; the ladies in convents, and the others in goals.

The two servants, who are said to have watched the King, had places in the custom-house, and were on the quay when the officers came to arrest them: One of these fled into a little adjoining coffee-house, where he was taken; the other, Polycarpio by name, made a push into a narrow street, turned the corner, and entirely escaped, not having been so much as heard of since.

Soon afterwards several Jesuits were taken up; one of these was Confessor to the Marchioness of Tavora, and known by the name of Father Malagrida.

A commission of inquest was issued for taking cognizance of this affair, the Count d'Oeyros
was

was appointed Chief, or Judge, and a Dezembargador as clerk or scrivener.

An order was published at the same time, commanding every one to declare what they knew of the affair, under pain of severe punishment.

The witnesses were all examined privately by those two magistrates, and a verbal process was drawn up by them for the inspection of another court, before which the culprits were to be tried, and which, considering the quality of the prisoners, ought not to have been confined to one court alone, but should have been brought before three: To avoid this, a number of Judges were appointed, who, during the interval of the trial, were all constituted Judges of the three courts; so that though the form of law was in that respect observed, yet in reality the courts were reduced to one, as the same persons were made to act in three at once.

In former reigns, it had been customary, on the trials of Peers, to name some of the nobility to hear the cause jointly with the Dezembargadors. This, however, was not done; but the parties accused having been put to the torture for obtaining confessions, the whole was transacted with the greatest privacy, till sentence was passed, when some were condemned to be strangled, others to be broke on the wheel, and others again burnt.

In Portugal criminals have a right to claim an embargo, or revival of the first sentence. Accordingly, when the Marchioness of Tavora's sentence was read to her, they told her she had a right to this embargo.

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The Marchioness replied, with an heroic air, that from the disposition of her Judges, she perceived a revival would answer no end, but that of giving fresh trouble to persons who were resolved to have her blood.

This Lady was possessed in a very high degree of every amiable quality that adorns the sex : Tho' advanced in years, and having a grand child marriageable, yet her beauty seemed to defy the ravages of time and her resolution continued unshaken : She still retained that agreeable glow of charms which is so much admired in the young and handsome : Her conversation was embellished with the finest strokes of wit, unaccompanied with any malicious insinuations ; her discourse was calculated to please, and never to wound : Her person was yet as upright and well-shaped as if she had been but twenty years of age : Her hair was long and graceful : Her presence commanded respect, and her behaviour was as attractive as her conversation : When her husband went out Viceroy to India, she accompanied him to his government, and to her counsels was greatly owing the propriety of the measures pursued under his administration.

When she retired from the presence of her Judges, a couple of friars beset her, admonishing her to spend the short time she had to live in prayer and meditation ; she interrupted their admonitions, by demanding who had ordered them to come to her, adding that she had not sent for them ; they answered, that her circumstances required their

attendance : You are mistaken, fathers, replied the Marchioness, your coming is premature, depart till I call for you ; though my time here be short, I have somewhat still to do before I can give myself up entirely to the concerns of another world.

The friars strove in vain to combat the firmness of her mind; she persisted in her resolution, and the dignity with which she expressed herself at length overcame their obstinacy.

Being left alone with her woman, the Marchioness delivered divers messages to be communicated to several persons of distinction of her kindred and acquaintance, and gave orders about sundry family affairs; then taking off her bracelets, the only things of value which had been left her, she gave them to her woman as a reward of her services.

After she had thus disburthened herself of the cares of the world, she desired the company of the friars, and attended in the most serious manner to the solemn preparation for another, nobly uniting in one person the character of the Heroine, and of the Christian.

On the morning of her execution, she desired her maid to comb and tie up her hair as usual : The friars exclaimed against this assiduity about appearances in these awful moments ; what, said the Marchioness, are decency and religion inconsistent ? why should I appear in public in a slovenly manner ? she then called for tea, but altering her mind afterwards said she chose coffee : Here the friars again reproached her, with too great a desire of gratifying her appetite. Fathers, said she, I only desire what I am used to ; and I am convinced that

my audit will not depend on actions of so indifferent a nature.

The scaffold for the execution was erected on a broad quay by the river at Belem, before one of the Royal residences, and within sight of the palace where the King resides. To this palace all the nobility were that day convened to see this dreadful tragedy performed. A telescope was fixed, that the whole might be surveyed distinctly.

The criminals were brought out one by one in a sedan chair, and conveyed thro' two ranks of infantry to the scaffold, which was in like manner environed with soldiery, who formed a hollow square in the centre. These again were surrounded with cavalry to keep off the mob. The civil magistrates were on horseback in the square formed by the infantry.

The Marchioness was the first brought out; she appeared with an astonishing intrepidity, took a handkerchief out of her pocket, and delivered it to the executioner, with a request to bind it over her face. This done, without appearing in the least dismayed, she sat down in the chair appointed for her in the middle of the scaffold, and with the greatest resignation placed her arms as directed, that they might be tied down; the executioner then, with a large knife, severed her head from her body, which was left seated in the chair during the whole scene.

Her youngest son Joseph was next brought out; he was extended on a cross, and a string which passed through a board, placed at the back of the cross, was put round his neck, that he might be

throttled by twisting it tight; but the engine no being properly made, the first attempt failed, so that the unfortunate young nobleman was obliged to be taken off the cross till the instrument was better adapted. After a short interval, he was again fixed thereon and executed.

The Count d'Atouguia, and the young Marquis ended their lives in the same manner: The young Marquis would have spoke, and was heard to say, that he forgave the King and his adversaries, when one of the magistrates rode up to him, and told him, if he would not be silent he must be gagged: Upon this he stopped, bowed down, and kissed the ground.

The old Marquis, and the Duke d'Aveiro were broke alive on the wheel; the servant was burnt alive at one corner of the scaffold, and the figure of Polycarpio at another.

The Duke d'Aveiro, in his last moments, was insulted in a manner much too mean for the awfulness of the spectacle. His hat and wig had been purposely secreted over-night, that he might appear bare-headed when exhibited to the people. At his arrival on the scaffold, they were shewn to him on the figure of Polycarpio.

When the execution was over, the scaffold was set on fire, and the whole being consumed to ashes, they were swept up and thrown into the sea.

The houses of all these nobility were pulled down, and the ground which they stood on ploughed and sown with salt. The name of Tavora was also forbidden to be continued or assumed by any one.

The

The Dutcheſs of Aveiro remains imprifoned in one convent, and the Counteſs of Atougia in another. The eldeſt ſon of the Duke died ſoon afterwards in confinement, and the reſt of the children were diſpoſed of, nobody knows how: The ſons of the Count d'Atougia are likewise kept ſomewhere in ſecret; but the young Marchionefs of Tavora enjoys a handsome allowance in a convent.

If the Miniſter, previously to this tragedy, had ingratiated himſelf with his Maſter, by laying before him ſchemes to appearance calculated for promoting the public welfare, and for aggrandizing the Royal fame in foreign nations; his influence now, over the King, became ſo fixed as not to be removed but with his laſt breath; for the ſafety and intereſts of both ſeemed, from henceforward, embarked in the ſame bottom, and united by bonds not to be diſſolved.

The Favourite was now raiſed from the degree of Secretary of State to that of Prime Miniſter, he was created Earl, or Count of Oeyros, where his uncle had bought a little eſtate, and Lord of Pom-bal, where he had himſelf been born: Theſe titles were made hereditary. A regiment of dragoons were allotted by way of guard to his perſon, as had been practiſed by Cardinal Richlieu; a company of theſe troops, commanded by a Captain, attended him wherever he went, and the drum was beat before him through the ſtreets of Liſbon, as on a march, as well as when he got into his carriage, which was done with the greateſt pomp and oftentation.

tation. A law was published, making it treason to speak ill of the Minister.

The Favourite thus fixed in his Sovereign's affection, took all possible measures for the preservation of the Royal authority. The city of Lisbon being situated on the banks of the Tagus, is bounded by that river towards the South; the valley of Alcantra, which is excessive deep, and almost impassable on account of the steepness and craggyness of its sides, runs in the same manner for near a mile and half, and becomes a boundary to it on the West. Towards the East the valley of Chellas continues nearly the same distance from the shore; on the neck of ground between these two valleys, towards the North, are the outlets of the city; one whereof which goes by Campo Pequeno and Campo Grande leads to Centra Maffra Torres, and other parts of the country; the other, which passes thro' Loiros, is the grand northern road, and goes to Coimbra, Oporto, &c. Besides these there are some others leading to the adjacent villages.

Two regiments of cavalry were posted on the river side, one at the easternmost part above the city, the other at the west, near the gate of Alcantra. A regiment of foot was placed on the side of the hill of the Cotovia, which forms at present the centre of Lisbon. Another regiment was stationed at a small distance, so as to command the Centra road, and a third behind the Campo do Coral, in the great northern road, all on heights that join with the grand isthmus, if it may be so called, which

which runs between the northerly termination of the valleys of Alcantra and Chellas, so that the three regiments of foot which are in the centre, form, as it were, a bow, each end whereof is terminated with a regiment of cavalry, and of which the river is, as it were, the string.

Besides these, on the high hill, which formerly was the centre of the city, and on which Lisbon originally stood, is an old castle defended by a few troops. Though the works of this castle deserve not the name of a fortification, yet are they sufficient to withstand any sudden attack of a mob; so that the capital is now retained in the greatest awe.

A regiment of infantry on the Ajuda Hill, with the guard, and some detachments of cavalry, secure the Royal palace from insult; as also the house of the Minister, which is but at a small distance from it.

The Civil Magistracy of the city is divided between seven Justices, or Corregidores, each of which presides over a ward, or *bairro*; to every one of these again belong certain officers, called Alcaydes Meirinhos, and their followers, who perform the offices of Constable, Bailiff, and such like: Attended by them, the Corregidores go round their wards every night; the inhabitants of the wards likewise are obliged to watch by turns, and it is the duty of the Corregidor to see that all be duely and regularly performed. The inhabitants, who had long been excused from watching, were ordered to attend. A new Office also of Intendente de Policia, or Lieutenant of Police, as in France, was instituted to preside over the whole.

All

All great assemblies were prohibited, unless with leave; and numberless other precautions taken, that things might remain as they stood.

Count d'Oeyros, arrived at this zenith of grandeur and power, displayed his rage against the ancient nobility of Portugal, in a very extraordinary manner; and exhibited a resentment not to be satiated. He proceeded to exasperate his Master at the whole order of the *Grandeos*, by representing them as a factious and disloyal body, and in consequence was permitted to tyrannise at pleasure over them. Almost every day brought with it the imprisonment of some or other of the Portuguese nobility: among them the Count de Ribiera was arrested, and carried to prison, where he still continues, though his crime is yet unknown.

Cagliaris, the Captain of the Queen's Guard, soon followed; his abilities, integrity, and resolution, rendered him incapable of stifling reflections which were too obvious to the meanest Portuguese. He was arrested whilst ill of an ague and fever, and in that dangerous condition conveyed to a damp dungeon, in the Fort of Saint Geam, situated on a rock at the mouth of the Tagus, the spring-tides in which often overflowed the floor of the cave where he was confined. His physician represented his ill state of health, and the danger that must arise to his patient from a confinement in such a place; but this remonstrance not being attended to, death soon put a period to Cagliaris's sufferings. His body was buried in the most obscure manner, in the neighbourhood of the Fort, and his widow, a lady, of the house

house of Holstein, banished to a solitary habitation, where she drags out a miserable life, in want and distress, not being so much as permitted even to return to her own country, though she has frequently petitioned for that purpose. His two sons are confined in the fort of St. Uvall, and probably for life.

This nobleman had two brothers, one a Knight of Malta, who happened to be at Paris at the time of Cagliari's misfortune, the other was then in Portugal; the latter was instantly banished to Mertola, where he still continues, and the former was ordered to return home; but being aware of the Minister's power, and unrelenting temper, he refused to obey, and was outlawed; the French King, commiserating his condition, gave him the command of a regiment in his service.

The next victim of this Minister's fury was the Count d'Ovedos, a nobleman of the royal blood, advanced in years, and so zealous of his Sovereign's and Country's dignity, that he had greatly impaired his fortune by maintaining a figure in his Master's service, superior to his abilities. This nobleman never loved the Favourite; and the King having observed that Carvalho's house had escaped the earthquake, which his Majesty attributed to the kindness of Heaven, in return for his Minister's virtues and goodness, the Count d'Ovedos, who happened to be present, jocularly said, that if it was a mark of Heaven's approbation of the Minister's virtues, that his house had escaped the earthquake, the common prostitutes must equally be esteemed paragons of virtue, and high in the favour of their

Maker, as the *Rua Suja*, or street where they lived, had not suffered.

The Count d'Ovedos had suffered immensely by the earthquake ; he had lost two whole streets by that calamity, so that this royal eulogy on the Favourite seemed an indirect satire on the Count, as it touched him very sensibly in his reputation ; it is not to be doubted therefore but that this nobleman was stimulated by the recollection of his own ill fortune, to resentment, on hearing the Minister's character thus recommended on so unreasonable an account. The answer, however, cost the Count his liberty, and probably his life, for he was soon after arrested and thrown into prison, where he still continues, if alive, without being ever admitted to know his offense.

This aged nobleman, when arrested, was used very cruelly by the Magistrate who took him into custody. For the latter went to the Count's house before his usual hour of rising, and understanding, as he expected, that the Count was not stirring, he burst into his bedchamber, drew his poniard, and laying his hand on the Count's breast, told him he was the King's prisoner, and that if he moved he was a dead man. The Count waking, and recollecting himself a little, said, Doctor, it is not your poniard that frightens me, but the King's commands compel my submission ; and my allegiance to my Prince obliges me to obey his orders, by whatever messenger he sends them.

When it is reflected, that the Count was a soldier from his cradle, and the magistrate, a

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a Doctor at Law, this answer of the Count's not only shows his coolness, and the peculiar temper for which he was famous; but displays, in a very humourous light, the absurd behaviour of a man, who being a civil magistrate, knew so little of his office as to think his poniard of more efficacy than his orders, especially in a place where the Count, with a single call, could have had assistants who would soon have despatched him.

The Duke de la Foens, a Prince of the Blood, and next heir to the Crown, after the extinction of that branch of the royal family now on the throne, has been many years in banishment, and at present resides in Germany. The cause of his exile is variously talked of; by some it is said, that this misfortune befel him on account of a passion he entertained for the grand-daughter of the Marchioness de Tavora, who was beheaded; and that his crime consisted in being seen on his knees before this young lady. Others, that he was banished because he advised his elder brother, as heir in entail to an estate settled by the King, Don Peter, on the second branch of the Royal Family, not to relinquish his right to it. For on the death of the Infant, Don Francisco, uncle to his Present Most Faithful Majesty; Don Antonio, another uncle, and brother to the deceased, pretending to his estate, it was also claimed by the nephew, Don Pedro, brother to his Majesty; but this difference was amicably settled between the two parties; the Infant Don Pedro remaining possessed of the estate, and a compensation being allowed Don Antonio

for it, and after him to Don Manuel, another surviving brother of his. But the rights of Don Miguel, who had likewise been named in the same will, and was the father of la Foens, still remained unsatisfied. La Foens was therefore desired also to accept of an accommodation, but to this he never would consent.

My King, said he, has a right to command my personal service, as well as my whole fortune, when he pleases, when the good of my country calls me out to danger ; but I hope he will not take it amiss, if I refuse to give up the rights of my family, which came to me by proximity of blood, and which I ought to transmit to succeeding generations.

He was called Don John de Bragança, and before his retirement to Germany, resided some time in England under the title of Duke of Bragança.

Even the two natural brothers of his Most Faithful Majesty could not escape falling sacrifices to the despotism of the Minister. The elder was Inquisitor General, the Minister directed him to licence a book concerning confession, in which it was contended that, on some important occasions, it is lawful to discover what is revealed under the seal of confession ; this proposition is known to be so contrary to the doctrine of the Romish church, that the Prince refused compliance. Count d'Oeyros went to his house, in order to persuade him. The discourse at this interview grew so warm, that the Count called the Prince traitor ; and the latter drew a poniard on the Count. A younger brother of the Prince, by accident, being present, interposed, and pre-

vented further mischief. The elder, who had drawn on the Count, repaired immediately to the palace, but could not gain admittance ; and the next day his house was surrounded by soldiers. Both the Princes were taken into custody, conveyed to prison, and their effects confiscated, without even the form of a trial.

Much about the same time, it may be truly said, that above forty or fifty of the lesser nobility underwent the same fate, inasmuch that all men were struck with fear and amazement at the detachments of dragoons perpetually traversing the streets, conducting some miserable victims in close chaises to the places of their confinement, where they were never to be heard of more.

Nor were people of less note more secure from the Minister's all-powerful wrath. A parish priest walking one day through the streets, by a building at that time erecting for the use of the Favourite, jocularly said, when demanded his opinion of it, that he could not approve of the *Agua Furtada*, an expression which, literally explained, means *Stolen Waters* ; but when applied to a building, signifies the Garrets. His wit cost him his liberty ; the real fact being, that the building was supplied with water from the large public aqueduct, which had been designed to serve the upper part of the city, to the no small distress of many hundred families, on account of the particular scarcity of water in that quarter, which had occasioned the construction of this prodigious work at an immense expense.

Another

Another humorous fellow, who sometimes made freer with affairs of state, than under so rigid an administration was prudent, being advised by his friends to desist from joking about matters of so dangerous a nature, used to carry about in his pocket a cork, with which he stopped his mouth when any body talked of politics. This proceeding was taken so ill by the Minister, who had his spies every where, that the poor fellow was thrown somewhere into confinement, and never more heard of.

About this time also, the Lord of the Manor of Bonjardin was arrested and conveyed to prison : He was descended of a very illustrious family, and much advanced in years, so that he was generally pitied by all ranks of people, particularly as it recalled to their minds the remembrance of some past occurrences, to which it was thought his misfortune was more owing than to any crime he was guilty of.

The Minister's father had begun a law-suit with Bonjardin for part of his estate, pretending that it belonged to him as successor of the family of Mello, formerly Marquis of Montalram. Bonjardin, showed that his predecessors, for above one hundred years back, had been continually and lineally in possession of the estate : That the documents by which his opponent pretended to support his pretended descent, were nothing but papers found in an old house at Oeyros belonging to the family, and purchased by the brother ; that so far from being of a noble descent, his father was no more than a blacksmith. In short, the whole appeared

peared so clear, that though the affair was carried on with great vigour, sentence had always been given in favour of Bonjardin; and when the suit was re-assumed by the Minister, on his first coming into employment, there appeared so great a want of justice in the pretensions, that every thing went for Bonjardin as before. But the Favourite afterwards arriving to higher power, it was insinuated to Bonjardin, that he had the finest opportunity imaginable to increase his fortune, as the Minister valuing the honour which would arise to him from so noble a descent, would make him ample recompense for the loss of the income, could he prevail in his law-suit. Bonjardin yielded to the insinuations. The process was revived, and terminated to the wish of the Minister. Bonjardin afterwards frequently visited his new-made cousin, who received him at first with much seeming cordiality; but finding soon that nothing more essential than compliments were to be expected, he began to lament his own foolish credulity, in parting with a reality for a shadow. It was from this purchase of the uncle at Oeyros, a small town at the foot of the rock of Lisbon, that the Minister took his title.

Antonio d'Andrade Emferrabodes, who had been Envoy to the Court of London, Rome and Holland, in all which places he had been greatly esteemed, was next recalled, and on his arrival committed prisoner to a fortress, where he still continues. As no remarkable injury had happened to the public affairs of Portugal at those Courts where he had resided, people could by no means account for

for the reason of his disgrace and punishment. This gentleman had been particularly distinguished for his abilities and integrity, and firmness in all transactions; he had been cotemporary with the Minister at the university, and had always showed so great a superiority of genius, that when any little party affairs were commenced by the Minister, Andrade was the person who was constantly appealed to for settling them, in which he generally succeeded, though the Minister used to repine at finding in him one who could so greatly control him.

Magistrates were also deposed when the Minister pleased, and left to ruminate at their leisure on the cause of his displeasure.

The people too, in general, were liable to suffer every oppression his haughty temper dictated. After the earthquake they constructed edifices of wood, not on the very spot where their former dwellings stood, as the condition of the ground in those places would not admit of it, but in the outskirts of the city, where they could promise themselves more quiet and satisfaction. Some of these buildings were reared at a great expense, and had cost the owners thousands of pounds, when on a sudden an edict was published, ordering the avenues of the city through the very middle of some of these new habitations, and commanding the ground whereon others stood to be cleared for hat-makers, the manufactory of hats being at that time one of the Minister's favourite schemes. A deputation of the most respectable of these inhabitants was sent to the Minister, with a petition against this new grievance. Their reception

tion was such as can scarcely be equalled. As soon as they acquainted him with their errand, he bid his servants look out some of the Oporto sentences, alluding to those passed upon the unhappy sufferers at that place in the affair of the Wine Company; and being brought, he ordered a copy to be delivered to each of the deputies, saying, he supposed they had never seen them. He then withdrew without deigning any further answer to persons who applied to him in the most humble manner, in behalf of dwellings, which they had erected out of the shattered remains of their fortunes after the earthquake.

The Portuguese East India Company next presents to our view, how inconsistent the system of this Minister, intoxicated with his own commercial projects, has proved with the true interests of the kingdom; and how much all other considerations have been forced to make way for the executing his schemes.

The Port of Lisbon is more commodiously situated for Commerce with the East Indies than any other in Europe; and it is notorious, that the Portuguese, in former days, drove a very great and lucrative trade with India, where they still have valuable possessions; so extensive was their commerce in those parts, that their language is still understood, and retained in most of the Eastern Islands, and on the coasts of Bengal. These considerations induced many in the late reign, to suppose that this trade, which had in a great measure been

discontinued on the increase of that of the Brazils, might easily be revived, to the great advantage of Portugal; whereupon the late King granted a charter for that purpose to one of his own subjects, Feliciano Velho Oldemberg by name, of German extraction, empowering him, under the Royal patronage, to make settlements in the East Indies, and carry on a traffick there from Portugal, with all the rights, immunities, and privileges given, on the like occasion, by any European Prince to their subjects.

This charter was to continue in force to the patentee and his heirs for the space of forty years, with a clause of renewal on favourable terms; and under it he was empowered to raise men and money to any necessary amount, either in Portugal or abroad.

The undertaking was entered on. Ships were fitted out, and factors sent to different parts, for conducting this business on a very extensive plan. Large sums of money were borrowed for the same end, ships were sent out and returns made to a considerable value. In short, the enterprise wore a very favourable aspect, though a great misfortune had happened to it, in regard to a large parcel of goods which arrived just before the earthquake, and were all lost on that dreadful occasion. Oldemberg, however, was not discouraged by this disaster; he made great preparations for new expeditions, when the Minister thought proper to put a stop to them by a Royal edict, and so brought him to ruin.

Indeed, had this undertaking been permitted to go on, the flourishing condition which it was likely to arrive

arrive to could not fail to have been prejudicial to the monopolizing Brazil Companies, and the comparison injurious to the capacity of the projector; as the one, without any assistance from the Crown, only a bare commission for carrying on the trade, had so far succeeded as to support itself, notwithstanding an immense loss; but was even with new vigour entering upon fresh undertakings that promised the greatest success; while the Grand Para Company, though favoured with the Royal patronage, assisted by ships from the Royal navy, indulged with a diminution of duties, and the proprietors of its stock dignified with distinguished honours, completed with the greatest difficulty, and not till after the expiration of some years, the capital appointed for forming their stock.

Among the many ships of burthen employed in this trade, was one of an uncommon size, called the *Glorioso*, bored for ninety guns; which had been purchased of the English, who had taken her of the Spaniards in the war before the last. Her stores were laid in, the crew and cargo provided, and the *Glorioso*, with several others bound for the same parts, were just ready to sail when the above thundering ordinance appeared.

Many thought the vessels ready to depart would have been permitted to proceed, but the Minister was not the man that would curse by halves; and Oldenberg, who would have acquired great riches to himself, and have been of public utility to his country, remains a bankrupt.

Diogo de Mendonça had become, as it were, a cypher ; he still continued indeed in his post of Secretary of State, and transacted the business transmitted to his office, but he had no share in the public administration of affairs ; he was in high esteem with the people, and though he did not enjoy his Sovereign's confidence about public matters, yet he frequently received marks of esteem from that Monarch, in regard to his private conduct. It was therefore with the greatest surprise the nation learnt that this great personage was arrested, and under the escort of a detachment of dragoons conducted to a fortress, where he was some time detained prisoner, from thence removed to a fort at the bar of the river of Oporto, and finally transported to Mazargam, a fortified town, which the Portuguese still hold on the coast of Barbary, and his estate sequestered ; so that he is now said to be in so great indigence that he is reduced to the miserable employment of teaching children to read, in order to acquire a subsistence.

Such is the distress to which this gentleman is reduced, who was famous for a nice elegance which had kept a due medium between penury and profusion. No one could ever pretend to form a judgment of what had given cause to so heavy a punishment ; which, as the Court has not thought proper to declare, it has ever remained a secret.

The roads between Lisbon and Oeyros, where the small estate lies from which the Minister took the title of Count, were narrow and in bad order, being little frequented on account of the insignificance

scarcity of the place. But this property made it of importance to the Minister that the roads should be widened and mended, which was effected at an immense charge of the public.

His former little dwelling, which was now converted into a most unwieldy mansion, was badly situated in a bottom, and a large rock rendered the approach to it, on one side, almost inaccessible, but the defect was remedied in the same manner as the roads had been widened, at the expense of the public, though the charges it occasioned probably amounted to more than treble the cost of the building.

People were astonished at this profusion of the nation's treasures for the Count's conveniency. His pleasure, however, was not to be disputed, but a passage was made through a solid rock of hard marble, above an hundred feet wide, and the Portuguese left to deplore in vain this idle application of the national money.

How great is the partiality of the Sovereign towards this Minister, cannot better be conceived than by the following anecdote, which happened on this occasion.

Some attendants of the Royal Person persuaded the King, when out on a shooting party, to take a view of the Count's villa near Oeyros, in hopes that his Majesty would not be pleased with the sight of such a waste of the public treasure. The King, however, unfortunately, only considered the stupendousness of the undertaking ; observing, that the Minister's ideas must be very much enlarged

larged beyond the common rank of mankind when he set about so great a work.

But the favourite had now completely acquired the confidence and affection of his Sovereign ; and by an attentive study of his temper, knew how to make thest mere trifles compensate for the omission of greater matters : The Ministers who had been sent the beginning of this reign to foreign Courts, had given rise to the sending of others from thence ; so that there were at one time in Lisbon, Ministers from Spain, France, Holland, Turin, Naples, Germany and England ; a circumstance which seemed to show this Court to be of greater importance at that time than in any former period, though in reality it produced no one single advantage to the kingdom ; but, on the contrary, the hurry of negotiation occasioned a neglect of affairs of great importance to the common welfare ; and likewise gave birth to disputes with other states, which were prejudicial to the interests of the kingdom : But this very confusion and bustle was a sure preservative of the power of the minister, who alone was deemed capable of extricating the kingdom from these difficulties. An affair also that happened on the Coast of Algarve, furnished him with a fine opportunity of paying his Court to his Sovereign, and of imposing upon him a further persuasion of the unlimited extent of his political abilities.

During the war between France and England, the Fleets of both nations came to an engagement within sight of the Coast of Algarve. Victory deciding for the English, some of the French ships were taken, and
others

others run ashore by the enemy themselves, to prevent their falling into the hands of the English. The latter, finding themselves thus deprived of their captures, that they might not be got again by the enemy, set fire to them. This circumstance afforded ample room for the chicanery of a negotiation, which in the end could procure no real advantage to the kingdom, though it might bring on an enmity that might prove very prejudicial to its interests. These, however, were considerations which easily gave way to the personal advantages that would accrue to the Minister, if, by his contrivance, England could be brought to demean herself to the chastisement of Portugal. He knew full well the hostile dispositions of the two nations then at war towards each other ; and that France would have done exactly the same thing, had fortune rendered her shipping victorious, and placed those of England in the like situation. Further, he knew that no intended affront had been offered herein to his Sovereign ; and even though it should be deemed so, he likewise knew how little able Portugal was to obtain satisfaction without the consent of England.

The Minister therefore began by intimating to France, that though his Sovereign was in alliance with England, he was sorry for the loss sustained ; but the unguarded condition of the coast, and the superiority of the English force, had put it out of the power of Portugal to give the French that assistance and protection he wished ; however, that he would obtain all the satisfaction possible ; but that to save appearances, and that it might not seem to
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flow from too partial an inclination in him for France, it should be done at the request of the latter, and as in satisfaction of what France claimed.

In the meantime the Portuguese Envoy at the Court of London complained heavily of this rencounter, as a most premeditated insult on the rights of his Sovereign, and a violation of the neutrality of the coasts; the Portuguese populace were also represented as so enraged, that the safety of the English residing there would be in danger, unless ample and speedy satisfaction were made. To this was added, that not only the laws of nations required it, but that France called loudly for satisfaction; and the not complying with so just a demand might be attended with danger to them, from the resentment of that kingdom.

In the uncertainty what might bethe issue of this affair, during the negotiations for it abroad, the matter was talked of at Lisbon as a thing of no account; and in which neither the King of Portugal could consider himself affronted, nor the French deem themselves injured, but that the whole was to be regarded as an event incident to the fortune of war; so that by this behaviour appearances might be kept up at home, whatever might be the result of the negotiation abroad.

At last the affair was finished in a manner very different from what the minister had any right to expect. England, in the height of glory, and crowned with success over the greatest and most formidable nation in Europe, submitted to send an embassy to Portugal, to apologize for the behaviour of an officer, who, if he had acted in any other man-

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ner than he did, would perhaps have answered it with his life: This unhopèd for success, in a pretension of so extraordinary a nature, entirely completed the opinion of the minister's abilities, as the Sovereign, by this stroke, was persuaded that he thoroughly understood the genius of the English, and the most secret councils of their government.

When the whole, however, is duly weighed, every true friend of Portugal will undoubtedly declare, he would rather the question had never been agitated; as the very satisfaction may some time or other be remembered, to the detriment of Portugal; though the whole tenour of this transaction must redound more to the credit of the English candour, than to the honour or glory of Portugal.

The continuance of the Royal Succession was an object of no small concern. Portugal had never been governed by a Queen; the King had no male issue; the marriage of the infant Don Pedro with the Princess was therefore resolved upon; and however unnatural it might appear, that an uncle should marry his niece, yet the happy effects expected from this union took off all the odium of it, so that the people rejoiced in it for a time, and forgot their own sorrows. This transaction may be considered as the only popular measure that happened during this administration; so extraordinary, however, has been the method of transacting every thing in this country, that a step of so great importance was totally unknown, till the King, on the morning of his birth-day, declared at court, that the nuptials were to be performed on the same day at three;

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and it is even said, that the Prince himself was made acquainted with it but a few hours before : This affair, which happened during the residence of the English ambassador at Lisbon, was by many said to be greatly owing to his negotiation. Nor indeed did that minister either deny or discountenance the report.

When affairs become embroiled, it is natural for one dispute to create another.

A difference with the Court of Rome soon followed the proceedings carried on against the Jesuits; the Minister not only undertook to expel the order from Portugal, but likewise that several of them should be publicly executed. All this the Court of Rome was desirous to countenance : The Pope did not want to oppose these measures if necessary, and therefore offered to concur in any thing that should be determined by a public trial; but the Minister insisted on a private one; the Pope refused to countenance this measure; a coolness between the two courts ensued, and that of Portugal pretended to enforce a compliance, by passing several edicts prejudicial to the interests of Rome; but that See, though desirous of supporting its superiority, being fearful of losing the friendship of Portugal, had never failed showing the greatest regard to its concerns, in hopes of a speedy reconciliation; that however was not the design of the Minister, as it was greatly to his advantage that the power of his Master should be as great in ecclesiastical as in temporal affairs; he therefore let slip no opportunity

nity of widening the breach, and bringing on an open rupture. With this view, on the nuptials of the Princess, the nuncio was not invited, and when the news of the marriage was communicated to the Foreign Ministers of other courts residing at Lisbon, requesting them to join in the common festivity and the illuminations made on that occasion, the Nuncio was purposely omitted. This Minister being of a sociable good-natured temper, was held in high esteem by all the Foreign Ministers at that Court, both Protestants and Roman Catholics. He endeavoured, by their means, to represent the injury that might arise to him personally, from so signal a mark of contempt, and even wrote to the Prime Minister to the same purpose, but no alteration being made, though he could not with propriety exhibit illuminations at his own house, he resolved not to aggravate the affront.

Nevertheless, on the rejoicing night, endeavours were used to incite the populace to break his windows; but the motive for his not illuminating them being known, no harm was done; on the contrary, every body condemned the affront put upon the Nuncio. The Prime Minister alone treated the affair in a different manner. The Nuncio was ordered immediately to quit the kingdom, and a manifesto was published, exaggerating the grossness of his behaviour, and the insult pretended to be offered thereby to the kingdom.

Whatever have been the inducements of many States to a difference with the See of Rome, both

Portugal and the family of Bragança have received real benefits from that Court. These benefits having arisen purely from the idea entertained of its authority, were to be continued only by the same means as gave birth to them. The very title of the Portuguese to Brazil had been thought imperfect, till confirmed to them by the See of Rome; and the first Sovereign of the Bragança family, thought the Pope's consent to his new acquired Royalty no small support to his Throne. Even the present Sovereign considered his title as incomplete, till the epithet of Most Faithful was added by his Holiness to it.

However inconsiderable these circumstances may appear in kingdoms of greater power, yet to those who are indebted to the pacific dispositions and indulgence of others, for the continuance of an enjoyment of what they possess, such matters are of no small importance.

Under these circumstances, therefore, and where there could arise no essential advantage to the kingdom from a difference with the Holy See, excepting to show the unlimited power of the Favourite, it cannot be doubted, but that this contemptuous treatment of that Court was absurd and ungenerous. The King and all the Family were firmly and steadily attached to the tenets of the Church of Rome: The affair also which gave rise to the dispute, was not concerning temporalities; and the policy of Portugal had always admitted the interposition of the Pope in ecclesiastical matters.

The unexpected success of the Minister in the affair with England, might probably induce him to imagine

gine with his Sovereign, that he had acquired a perfect knowledge of the genius of the English, and of their rules of government, and that in consequence thereof he could influence their councils as he pleased.

In this persuasion, while England behaved with the most humiliating condescension, he heard all their complaints of the infringement of treaties subsisting between them with indifference ; and so far was he from aiming to satisfy their demands, that he positively refused complying with some, and returned only a general answer to the rest : But artifices of this sort cannot be deemed commendable, as they are apt to lead a person into unnecessary difficulties, as it were, merely for a tryal of his abilities, in a persuasion that they are sufficient to extricate him on every occasion. To councils of this nature, however, seems to have been owing the critical situation in which the Court of Lisbon found itself, when Spain, joining with France in the war against England, both powers fell upon Portugal. People in general were inclined to believe some measures had been in agitation long before, as the King, on a grand court-day, had appeared, without any previous information, in a military uniform, and likewise the two Secretaries of State. An edict also had been published, by which his Majesty declared, that from that time he took the command of his troops immediately upon himself, and that he had conferred on his two Secretaries of State the rank of Major-Generals ; but had that kingdom been governed by a Minister less given to intrigue, and who had been more
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attentive to foreign connexions, Portugal might doubtless have been left in quiet : For, had the late King's system still prevailed, why should not that kingdom have been now indulged in a peaceful neutrality as well as during his reign, when France and Spain were alike combined before against England ?

Why would these two nations have demanded the forts of Portugal as pledges of the neutrality more at this time than in the old King's days, if they had reposed the same confidence in that Court as before, and not distrusted the artful schemes of the Minister ; and though from a variance in the Spanish councils, as some suppose, or from the speedy assistance received from England, as others pretend, Portugal escaped the imminent danger with which she was threatened, yet have not France and Spain discovered that she is the the proper channel through which they may consume the force of England in time of war, and will not Portugal therefore be involved in the dangerous conflicts of those great monarchs on all subsequent occasions ?

Does not England, on the other hand, complain of the extreme supineness of the measures taken by the Minister for the defense of the kingdom : Is it not also publicly and generally known, that when the auxiliary troops arrived, the national force was in no readiness ; that these troops suffered more from the difficulties they met with in the want of proper assistance, than from the dangers of the campaign, and did not their Generals find more trouble from the litigious cavils of the Prime Minister than from the operations of war ?

war? Did not the troops themselves too experience all manner of chicanery to the very moment of their departure? Was not the commanding officer forced to the cruel alternative of seeing his army deprived of bread, or forced to pay an unjust and extravagant charge for grinding the very wheat which England had sent for their supply; and was not that corn ground in mills belonging to the Minister?

Were not the officers of the horse trepanned into a forced sale of the horses of their own troops, from an intimation that they should be bought up for the service of his Most Faithful Majesty, in consequence whereof they informed their Court, that ships were not necessary for transporting the cavalry back to England?

Does not the whole British nation lay it down as a fact, that the war was an artifice of the Prime Minister, in conjunction with the enemy, to divert their force from being exerted in other parts? Certain it is, that many great personages who must have seen farther into affairs than people in general could do, made no secret of delivering this as their opinion.

A nobleman of great talents, thoroughly well versed in the state of Portugal, who had gone over there at the request of the Court, having met with a different reception from what he had reason to expect, made but a very short stay in that country; and at taking leave of the minister, told him, with that military frankness so natural to him, that he was come to take his leave of him; adding, that he was satisfied the Count would not be sorry for his departure, as he perceived he could not bear the
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presence of any, though of ever so high a rank, who did no cringe to him, and assent to every thing he proposed ; but that in regard to the then mock war, for it deserved (he said) no better name, whatever might be the event of it, it must be fatal to Portugal, if the system observed in the steps that produced it were continued.

Do you say this, replied the Count, as the Minister of your Sovereign, or from yourself, and will you abide by what you have said ? I not only say this, resumed his Lordship, but I will also give it you under my hand. Going then to a side table, he wrote on a paper these words :—T——y says to d'Oeyros, (putting in writing what he had said.) The Minister having read the paper, said he would give an answer to it also in writing ; that is, replied my Lord, you have no good one, and you cannot find any at all without studying.

So great and so general has been the disgust of the Minister's temper, and so prone was he thought to the retarding and embroiling of every affair in which he had any concern, that the negotiations for the peace were carried on entirely without his privity, and he was only, like the rest of the world, informed of the conditions when it was actually concluded : whereas, in the former reign, at the time of the peace of Utrecht, the Ministers of Portugal were admitted to sign jointly with those of the other powers. Yet Portugal, weak within herself, and drawing her riches from distant colonies, should ever hold these councils pernicious that bring her into contests with other nations, or indispose the minds of foreign Courts towards her.

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This tragi-comic war being ended, in which armies had advanced only to retire, and troops been raised merely to desert with impunity, the Minister, still secure in the affection of his Sovereign, indifferent about the sentiments of the people, and deaf to the remonstrances of foreign powers, threw other parts of Brazil into the hands of monopolists; but finding, through a want of means in the people, that he cannot procure funds sufficient to put the whole under the same regulations, pursuant to his original plan, he has put an end to the ancient method of trading to the remaining unappropriated ports, by abolishing the fleets that used to sail to those ports, and permitting none to trade there but by a particular licence granted for that purpose. These measures being injurious to the royal revenue, considered as oppressive by the natives, as well as by foreigners, and having created a general indisposition in several of the Sovereigns of Europe, without producing one public advantage, do they not naturally induce us to think that they have their rise from other motives, and that there is some latent spring which gives motion to these councils. The censorious part of mankind will not, in such a case, hesitate to pronounce it to be self-interest; and even the more scrupulous must remain silent; or own their ignorance of the cause.

The disposition of the administration continued, however, equally unfavourable to the subjects of Portugal, as to foreigners: The hostile apprehensions of the war were no sooner over, than a new tax of ten per cent. was laid not only on the rents of lands and houses, but even on the

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supposed profits arising from the trade or profession of every individual; insomuch that this tax extended even to the wages of servants. Thus the amount of it alone was computed to be equal to the produce of all the other taxes put together. It was with the utmost difficulty, however, that people could find wherewith to pay it; and many even sold their linen or goods, and some part of their lands, to discharge this iniquitous burthen, laid on the remainder. It was nevertheless levied with rigour; and the difficulty of the payment, as it fell only on the people, was not permitted to lessen the royal treasure; so that the whole was collected to the full amount.

The Minister seemed now to enjoy in quiet the superiority which he had assumed over the state. The seat of honour in all public theatres was allotted to him and his family; for the Sovereign, having a theatre of his own, never goes to public ones; that part of the house, therefore, which would have been destined for the royal presence, was appropriated to the Minister; and the entertainment was always deferred till his arrival, however crowded, or whatever company were in the house. Even the first nobility were brought to allow of a superiority, which they detested in their hearts; but it was the disposition of the Count to make them feel strongly the power he enjoyed.

A storm is frequently followed by a calm, and a calm by a storm; troops had not only been properly disposed for preventing forward minds from breaking in upon the plans adopted by government, but foreign officers had also been put over these
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troops, who having no other interest than the friendship and protection of the Minister, their views were of course connected with his; so that the present tranquillity seemed lasting, when, of a sudden, an affair in which none but a few old nuns, some young girls, and a few friars, were the only actors that appeared, occasioned a violent bustle, and produced in the mind of the Minister, perhaps more anxiety, for a time, than any occurrence that had happened during the whole course of his administration.

At Lisbon is a nunnery of the order of Saint Dominick, situated near the Roscio; in which nunnery are several ladies of the first families in the kingdom; this nunnery is dedicated to the Incarnation, and is known by the name of the *Encarnação*; it is governed by four friars of the same order, who are subordinate to their superior only, at Rome, and are confessors to the nuns. On looking over the records of this nunnery it appears, that a festival had been anciently instituted, to be kept on the Friday next before Good Friday, in honour of the Holy Sacrament, with a set of prayers adapted to the occasion; and an account of several acts of worship which were to be observed at the same time. It further appeared by the record, that the members of that community were not only commanded to obey the Ritual, but to recommend also to others the observance of it. In consequence thereof their Ritual was printed, and distributed about, requiring all pious and devout people to conform thereto; parish priests likewise, at the

same time, were requested to expose the Host, and assist the faithful with ghostly comfort. This being only an act of voluntary devotion, which every one might conform to, or not, according to their inclinations; it was not enforced by any public order, but had passed unnoticed by the government; though as a pious order, and tending to the advancement of devotion, it had circulated very widely in all the districts about Lisbon.

There happened to be in this nunnery, at this time, a young sister, still in the prime of youth, of most exemplary virtue, and remarkable purity of life. This young lady, it was said, was frequently troubled with visions, or dreams of a very extraordinary nature, intimating, that on the Friday immediately preceding Good Friday, there would happen a most terrible catastrophe, which would be generally fatal to all persons not in churches, where every body might promise themselves security. It was also given out, that those who resorted to the *Cotovia*, or other open place, would have a better chance to escape than those who remained within doors, or were walking in the street.

None of these reports had reached the Minister, till the Thursday evening immediately preceding the day mentioned for the catastrophe, but when known to him, they appeared of too serious a nature not to be attended to. The most effectual measures, therefore, were immediately taken to prevent any design that might be formed.

The Patriarch was ordered to issue out a mandate, prohibiting the observance of any particular rights on
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that day ; commanding that the Host should not be exposed ; that in Lisbon the churches should be all shut up by two o'clock, and not opened any more that day ; and that the priests of every parish should resort to the porch of their respective churches, there to quiet the people, in respect to the shutting of the churches, in case any persons should resort there, and on finding them shut become discontented. These orders were not only conveyed to all the parish priests of Lisbon, but were likewise sent to the several parishes around, with all imaginable expedition ; great numbers of expresses on horseback being dispatched for that purpose.

While these precautions were taking others were likewise thought of regarding the military. The officers of all the regiments in and about Lisbon were enjoined to collect all their troops to their respective barracks, with all possible expedition, and to be present there with them. Ammunition was distributed to every regiment. The predicted day having passed over quietly, it cannot be said that any thing more was intended by it than what appeared ; neither has any plot been discovered, although the most exact and rigorous researches were made. But the danger, if any, being now passed, it was still necessary to make the most diligent enquiry into the affair ; and by an exemplary punishment of all concerned therein, prevent others from attempting the like for the future.

Accordingly, the Provincial, or chief of a Dominican Convent of Friars, in the neighbourhood
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of the nunnery, was ordered to summon the four Confessors before him, which he did ; but they, in consequence of their privilege, refusing to comply, were thrown into confinement, and have not since been heard of.

The Abbess also was degraded, and with the Nuns of the convent thrown into dungeons belonging to the nunnery. The young Cassandra herself was sent to the Inquisition : nor did the affair rest here.

Several others were thrown into prison ; and a convent of Dominican Friars, situated about forty miles from Lisbon, at the back of Santerram, was totally demolished. A party of soldiers was sent there, with carriages for the removal of the Friars, who were instantly obliged to get into them, and depart for Santerram, where they were confined in the prison of another convent of the same order ; their effects and stock were confiscated and sold, without loss of time, to the best bidder.

Several months after, an *auto da fe* was published to be held : the criminals, it was said, were to be brought out from the Inquisition, earlier than usual, to be conducted to the church of St. Dominick, where their crimes are read. The curiosity of the people was greatly excited, by being told that some very extraordinary personages were to be brought out ; and it was said that the Nun herself, who gave out these visions, was destined to be burnt.

The Minister's family had places taken for them to see these criminals pass by. Great crowds of people were assembled very early ; and the Minister himself

appeared at the door of the Inquisition, and in an inner court betimes ; but the criminals were not brought out till late. A great interval likewise passed between the bringing out some of them ; and it was said orders had come from court concerning certain occurrences of the day, and a close chaise with the King's livery, was remarked to drive with great violence through the crowd, and went to the inquisition.

The prophetic Nun, however, was at length brought out, but in so miserable a condition that she could not walk, nor even stand without assistance, having been lamed, as is supposed, by tortures she had been put to ; she was supported therefore by two persons, one on each side, to enable her to proceed to the church ; yet at last she was not sentenced, but ordered back to the Inquisition, on account, as was reported, of their not having been able to extort any confession from her, which it was expected might be done by time.

Thus ended this extraordinary affair, to the ruin and imprisonment of many, and the regulations made on that occasion still continue a burthen to the inhabitants. A decree was even published, commanding all persons without distinction, not to leave the place in which they resided, without a passport, showing from whence they came, where they were going, and by what road. This passport was also to describe their persons and age. Numberless were the people, many of them of the first quality who were stopped on the roads, and carried to prison by virtue of this law, for want of their knowing how to take out regular passports.

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Carriers who came from afar, and boatmen from a distance, or high up the country, became exposed to the greatest insults from the officers, and were frequently detained in prison for a long time without any redress; so that through the notion of preventing an imaginary evil, a great one was really felt by all ranks of persons.

Notwithstanding the disputes with the Court of Rome, both King and subject persisted still in the faith of that Church; and as by the constitutions of the Holy See, every one ought, during Lent, to abstain not only from flesh meats, but also from eggs, butter and cheese. These last, in consideration of other duties, used to be occasionally dispensed with; but as the Court of Lisbon would not now request that indulgence, people of strict conscience abstained from eating the lacticinia, but the tables of the Minister and of his creatures were always covered with them. It happened one day that a colonel, dining at the table of the Secretary of State for the marine, brother to the Minister, and being offered butter with something to which he had been helped, he said innocently that he did not choose to eat butter. This inadvertent expression was instantly considered as an affront; and the Secretary who entertained him, abruptly asked if he pretended to more religion than the rest of the company; the colonel, unwilling to disoblige the brother of so powerful a Minister, immediately made excuses, alledging the purity of his intentions, but no excuse was to be accepted, even a dismissal from the King's service was threatened in case of non-compliance; the officer was obliged,
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contrary to the dictates of his conscience, to eat butter, and never more offend upon the like subject.

However trifling this circumstance may appear to many, it cannot be denied, that it was a most extravagant abuse of power; and how unhappy must that kingdom be, where the slightest non-conformity to the caprice of a Minister, or the Minister's relations, never fails to be punished with the utmost severity; that from this also, no rank is exempted, has been already shewn in the fate of the King's natural brothers.

When the Minister began his Administration, Portugal might be considered as a new country, the small intercourse of the natives of that kingdom with those of other European powers, having left them in a state of ignorance of the refinement of policy so generally known and practised in other parts.

The court of Inquisition in particular, which had been regarded with horror for many years by almost every civilized state, still subsisted there, and its power was reckoned uncontrollable, tho' there needed but a trial with that of the King to show their disparity: The Minister, therefore, has not thought fit to destroy that institution, so contrary to all principles of common justice or humanity, but contrived to render it subservient to his own purposes; so that it is now become an engine for the more effectually punishing of state prisoners, whose crimes might, perhaps, escape the power of the law. The Jesuit *Malagrida*, arrested on the affair of the Tavoras, had long remained in prison, yet was not brought before the grand Commission of Inquest appointed

for enquiring into that affair ; nor had the commission even presented him as a criminal to any of the law courts, though that very commission was still continued. However, in an act of faith, as it is called, or Goal Delivery of the Inquisition, he was brought out and accused of heresy in his writings of the life of St. Anne, Antichrist, and others, for which, being degraded from the priesthood, he was delivered over to the secular arm, covered with a cloth, on which were painted flames and demons. A gag being put into his mouth, he was then condemned to be burned, which sentence was executed.

It is a common practice among the Portuguese, that while criminals are in the church of St. Dominick, if before their sentence be read, they can recollect any further matter to add to their former confession, they desire admission to a table at which some of the inquisitors preside, when if the confession they make agrees with the crime of which they had been accused, and they that had not been imprisoned before on any charge of the same nature, they then save their lives. Malagrida asked admission, and after some deliberation was admitted to the table ; he was seen upon his knees at the end of it, with an inquisitor seated on one side close by him, and a person writing on the other. What Malagrida said could not be heard, but he was perceived to speak for a considerable time with great earnestness ; during which he frequently wrung his hands, and smote his breast. What is
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very remarkable in the behaviour of this unhappy sufferer is, that though he remained seated on a sort of amphitheatre, erected for holding the criminals during the reading of their process, yet in this situation, where no one could have stopped his speech for some time, though the reading of his crimes took up some hours, and numberless trifling circumstances, particularly some relating to obscenity practised, as was said by this poor old wretch, who was upwards of eighty years of age, it is very remarkable, that during the whole time he never offered to make the least reply, though been accustomed to preach to large multitudes, and excelling that way, it must have been easy for him to have delivered himself on this occasion in a manner that would have affected the multitude, the greatest part of whom were grieved at seeing magistracy employed in the manner it then was; yet such is the nature of mankind, that though this priest was silent, while his mouth was unconstrained, yet no sooner was the gag put into it, than he was heard to utter inarticulate sounds; whether from the bad treatment he received from the officers who seized him, as a prey in which they delighted, or from any other motive, cannot be said, as his words were not only unintelligible, but he was also pulled about in a most cruel manner by the alguazils.

The system of Government during the administration of the Count of Oeyras, has become more and more distant from that established by the late

King, in proportion as his schemes have taken place, and his management of affairs has lasted.

The growth of wine had greatly increased in the province of Estremadura, particularly in the district about Santeram, near the side of the Tagus, where people seeing the success of vineyards at a small town called Chamusca, on the south side of the river, began to plant others on the northern, when a law came out, commanding all the vineyards to the north of the river, from Saccaven to a place above Santeram to be rooted up, because, as was pretended, the increased growth reduced the price too much; whereas the quantity being diminished, the value would increase proportionably in the price of the exports. For the less wine there is in the market, said the Minister, the more the exporter must pay for it, and the English will not take off a less quantity for that consideration; but the reason alledged in the preamble of the law was, that the ground occupied by the vineyards was capable of producing corn, and being taken up with vineyards, was become a hindrance to the growth of this more necessary commodity.

In many countries, that are fully inhabited, and where the land is cultivated to the utmost, such a plea might be reasonable; but in a country like Portugal, where the inhabitants are few, and the tracts of uncultivated ground far exceed those which are cultivated, it must be only increasing the malady, and throwing away so much wine merely because it is not bread. In fact, the rooting up the vineyards in these parts, is more likely

to increase the scarcity of corn, than to add to the former growth, as it is not from a want of a proper soil that the shortness of the harvest arises; but the produce of the vineyards there is more certain, occasions less cost, and can be carried on with less labour. To prove this, nothing is more necessary than to compare the conditions of those towns which depend on a corn harvest, with others that depend on wine. The poor miserable town of Vallada, situated on the river side, with a corn country at the back and on each side, can barely subsist, while Chamusca, though a retired place, distant from the water-side, and where the river is of difficult navigation, is in the most flourishing condition. The Termo of Torras is also covered with villages, because a husbandman having a vineyard, may be able, from the profits arising from it, to bear the loss of a bad harvest, and so come in for advantages of a subsequent year.

A report prevailed, that the law proceeded from more interested views, and that the Vines were destroyed because they were too much of a quality with those in Oeyras, where the Minister has greatly enlarged his estate, and laid it out all in vineyards: Be this as it may, the present inhabitants have suffered greatly by this edict, to the discouragement not only of future improvements, but also of the present cultivation of their lands. The quantity of vines already pulled up is so great, that it is computed they would yield no less than twenty-five thousand pipes per annum, insomuch that the very wood of the vines of one man only,
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a lawyer, who resides at Lisbon, was reckoned to be worth four thousand melreis for fuel.

There are instances of this Minister's administration which furnish the strongest proofs of full persuasion of his secure situation in the affections of his sovereign. The ducal estate of the Bragança inheritance is kept to this day as distinct and separate from that of the Crown, as if the possession of it belonged to a separate owner; for which officers and magistrates are appointed, not only to collect the revenues, but also to preserve them and support its privileges. When the Minister was advanced to the title of Count of Oeyras, the duty on fish landed there was given to him, the income of which was but small, till improved by a subsequent piece of artifice, when under a pretence of encouraging the fishery, on the coast, all fish landed at Oeyras were to be admitted at Lisbon without paying any farther duty; so that the revenues of the one flourished at the expense of the other; and, as it belonged to the Bragança estate, it would have been violently opposed, had a like grant been made to any other person, or had it not been known how sure the Minister was of carrying all points that depended on the good-will of his Sovereign, of which a subsequent affair, relative to the tobacco and snuff contract, is not a less remarkable instance.

This contract, or farm, consists in an exclusive privilege of selling snuff and tobacco for the use of the inhabitants of Portugal and the Western Islands,
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and is farmed out, in consideration of a certain yearly amount, which is paid to the royal revenue by the contractors : which, though at first inconsiderable, had increased above one hundred thousand pounds per annum. The usual way of disposing of this contract had been by putting it up to auction, and passing the grant to the highest bidder ; but, on an occasion of this sort, a decree from the King was issued out, disposing of it to certain persons at the same price it had been farmed at to the preceding contractor, although ten thousand pounds per annum increase of revenue had been offered by others ; and although in former agreements the contract never was granted for more than three years, yet on this occasion it was made out for ten, which occasioned a difference of an hundred thousand pounds, to the prejudice of the revenue, besides the augmentation that, from the experience of past times, might be expected at the renewal of every triennial grant.

In the charters given to the three grand companies established under this administration, for the trade of Grand Para, Pernambuco, and the wines at Porto, care had been taken of attaching to the stock all honours, privileges, and advantages which could arise from a landed estate, or, as it may be called, a freehold, that people might be desirous of purchasing ; so that the sellers being fewer than the buyers, the stock might bear an advanced price ; but that not having happened, and on the contrary people having even refused taking the stock at the first cost, an edict was issued, declaring that a tender

der of stock should be deemed lawful, and that all persons who refused accepting it, should be deprived of all other means of recovery of their debts.

Thus some people became proprietors against their wills, and the only general effect of this law was an universal restraint of public credit, which ensued.

We have now taken a cursory view of the principal occurrences that have happened in Portugal during the reigns of two successive monarchs of that kingdom.

Under the first from a state of war and inward confusion, it was conducted to order and tranquillity at home, and to general esteem and respect abroad; its trade and navigation increased, its colonies flourished, the subjects grew rich, the public revenue was augmented, and a happy union and confidence between the Sovereign and his people displayed themselves on every occasion.

However promising the appearances were for the continuance or increase of the like happiness under a Prince of the known virtues possessed by his present Most Faithful Majesty, it is certain his reign has been most remarkably distinguished by events of the most unfortunate nature.

And however different the success of each reign has proved, we shall find on recollection that the system of policy observed in each period has not been less opposite.

During the first, commerce was encouraged in the most extensive manner, the subjects grew rich, and the felicity of the state arose from the happiness

ness of the people, while foreign connections were kept up and strengthened by the interest each reaped in adhering to them.

The succeeding system, which is that now existing, is founded on principles of totally a different nature.

Commerce has been circumscribed in every branch by the erection of extensive monopolies, poverty has ensued, discontents have arose, new regulations have been enacted to compel obedience, and the most sanguinary executions been thought the only method of deterring the people from an open opposition to those regulations, while every method has been practised to deprive all foreigners from reaping any advantage among them.

The design of this comparison is not to cast any aspersions on the present S—n, as it must be confessed, that as a husband, father, friend, or brother, he is possessed of every social virtue; and there is great reason to think, that if in the administration of public affairs he had followed the dictates of his own mind, and been less influenced by the council of others, great part of the misfortunes his kingdom has laboured under would have been avoided.

But having placed his confidence in a minister who has been permitted to transact every thing as he pleased, it must be to this minister's want of abilities to discharge so important a trust, or to a worse cause that the whole is to be attributed, and the known violent temper of the man may undoubtedly be thought to have produced many evils

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which would never have arisen under a less despotic person.

In regard to the personal qualifications of the minister, when we consider him as rising from an humble station to the high degree of a peerage, and to the greatest pitch of power in the kingdom, and that his administration has produced events which were before thought impracticable, we are naturally inclined to think that he must be possessed of very extraordinary talents, uncommon wisdom, and the greatest resolution; and indeed had he arrived at the same degree of honour and credit in a republic, or in any state where the regal power is more limited, and the field of competition open, the inference might have been true.

But when we consider that in the kingdom where this has happened, the will of the Sovereign is a law, and that the favour of the king was therefore alone sufficient to raise him to that height to which he is risen; the case becomes widely different, and it may be said that the greatness of his abilities has consisted only in gaining an ascendancy over his Prince; and the greatness of his resolution in that being armed with a military force at his command, he has trampled on a poor cowardly defenceless people.

It is not therefore from the exalted station, or the present power of the Count d'Oeyras, that we must form our judgment of his abilities, but from the tenor of his actions, and the consequences they have produced to his King and Country.

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When we consider the nature of the occurrences which have passed under his administration, it must be allowed they are such as fill us with horror and amazement rather than with pleasure and content; and though he has established many new institutions on the ruins of the ancient constitution of the realm, yet we do not find any one scheme among them all, which by the greatness of its design, or the utility of its effect, entitles him to the least admiration, or can palliate the cruelty of shedding so much blood for its support.

On the contrary, the commerce of Brazil and the Portuguese navigation have been greatly diminished; the flourishing colony of Grand Para considerably reduced; the trade of Pernambuco lessened in the same degree; the wine company in no better condition; and the capital stock of each of these companies may be said to remain in the hands of the original purchasers, who if they could find buyers would gladly sell out at a loss of forty or fifty per cent.

If we reflect on the condition of the other ranks of men, nobility, clergy, magistracy, or commonality, it does not appear that any thing more favourable can be said on that head, than in regard to the commercial state of the kingdom, but they are all equally in a most servile state of bondage both of body and mind.

No one being secure as to his person or effects, and all having been compelled without conviction of error, or any previous instruction to abandon the principles in which they had been brought up,

and to adopt others however contrary to the dictates of their own conscience.

If the external situation of affairs be considered, we shall not find that any one new alliance favourable to the interests of Portugal has been obtained, or that any negociation with foreign powers has procured that kingdom the least advantage.

Upon the whole then, however upright, wise, and well intended the ministers designs may have been, it must be allowed they have not yet produced that happy effect, either at home or abroad, which was felt during the reign of the preceding monarch, but it remains for after-times to sound their praise if ever they shall be found deserving of it.

If the insignificancy of Portugal as a nation from its inability to defend itself, or assist its allies, may make the deduction of so long a detail appear useless, or undeserving of the attention of the publick, it must be remembered that the possession of the vast treasures of Brazil will always render the transactions of that kingdom important to all the other states of Europe; as during the time the mines of that country were worked with alacrity, the riches they produced afforded means of a commerce with Portugal, which occasioned a circulation of treasure into every state of Europe; and that circulation is now greatly diminished; it therefore was necessary to enquire from whence this diminution has arose; for if from a new system of politics, the source of wealth should be stopped by the caprice only of a visionary schemer, it is not to be

be supposed that the whole world will look on with indifference, and see themselves reduced to the want of a necessary with which they can supply themselves on their own terms whenever they think proper.

For the uncontested enjoyment in which Portugal, by a general consent of all Europe, has been left of the treasure of Brazil, evidently shows that she is regarded rather as the administratrix of that treasure than as the mistress of it; had it been otherwise, she must long ago have lost those countries; and if she forgets to discharge her trust properly, a better manager will be required, and the farm be put into other hands; for if the manufacturer has no employment at his loom, his labour must be directed another way, and those countries which have been contented to owe their wealth to industry, and a connexion with Portugal, when disappointed of it there, will seek it at the source by other means.

In regard to the English reader, the revolutions which have happened in Portugal will always be of moment so long as Great Britain has any commercial intercourse with that kingdom.

We are but little concerned, indeed, to know whether the Portuguese live under a moderate or an arbitrary government, but it is of the highest importance to enquire from what causes, and by whose malice or presumption it hath happened that our privileges have been invaded, our commerce destroyed, and the most solemn treaties turned to derision.

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To every enquiry of this nature the character of the Prime Minister gives an immediate and sufficient answer, the same man being alike the enemy to both countries ; while this evil was confined to Portugal, the Minister could silence the complaints of people who are subject to the effects of his rage ; but now that it is become more general, will demand in public a redress which the subjects of Portugal could only wish for in private. The natives of Great Britain in particular must loudly declare the Count d'Oeyras to be their enemy ; and every friend to human kind, in every state of Europe, will doubtless applaud their declaration, and agreeing in the same sentiment with respect to themselves, they will all look with abhorrence upon a man, who, having it in his power to be the instrument of happiness to a whole people, has basely perverted all his influence to the detestable purposes of avarice, cruelty, and oppression.

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